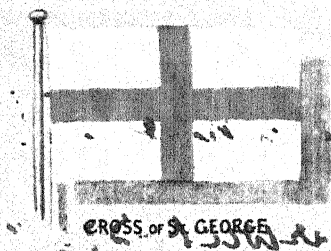


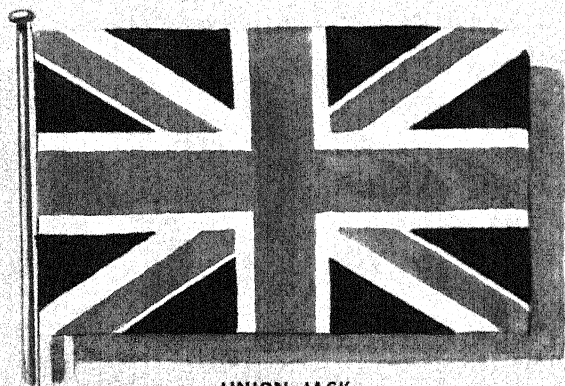
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Citizens of the British Empire

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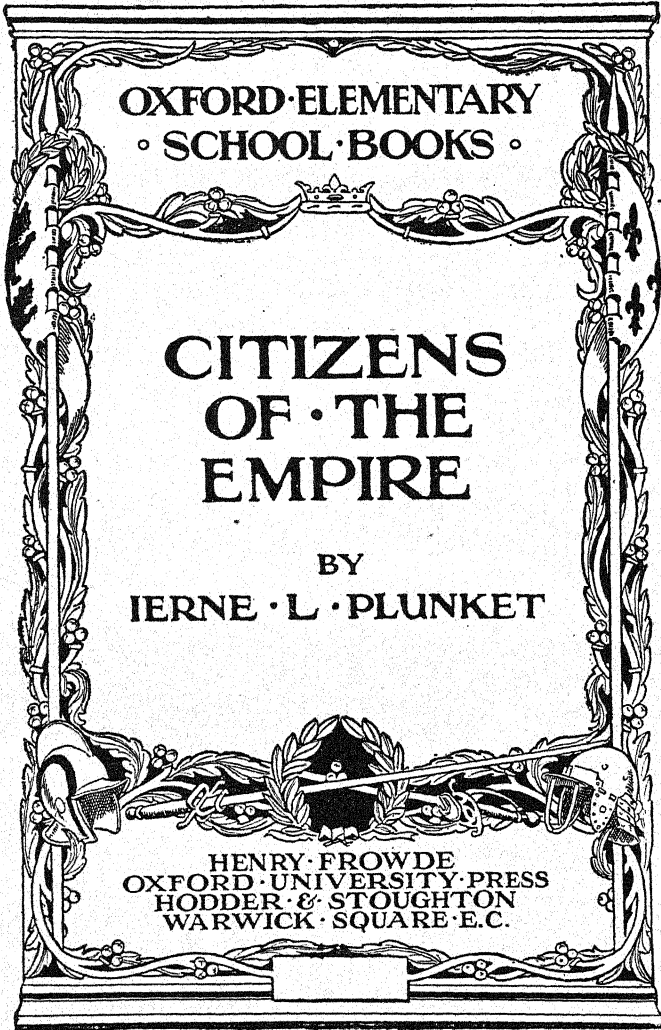
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OXFORD · ELEMENTARY
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CITIZENS
OF · THE
EMPIRE

BY
IERNE · L · PLUNKET

HENRY · FROWDE
OXFORD · UNIVERSITY · PRESS
HODDER · & · STOUGHTON
WARWICK · SQUARE · E.C.

“Here and here did England help me : how can I help
England ?—say !”—ROBERT BROWNING.

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Introduction

Chapter I

A Citizen

THIS is to be a book about British Citizenship, and therefore our first question must be, What does the word citizen mean?

We may guess from the sound of the word that a citizen must be a person who has something to do with a city. This indeed is the simplest meaning of the word : a citizen is any person who dwells in a city. But this meaning is of little importance. A citizen, in a wider sense, is a person who has some part in the government of the city to which he belongs—one who enjoys certain rights and privileges, and has to fulfil certain duties that do not belong to other people.

But the word has a still wider meaning. Let us take an example. Many hundreds of years ago the people of the great city of Rome sent their soldiers into every part of the known world, to conquer foreign peoples. Many other cities thus came under the rule of the Romans, and their citizens might become Roman citizens. This was a great thing for them, for no matter how far away from Rome they were, they could claim the privileges of Romans.

The apostle Paul was once in the temple at Jerusalem when his enemies collected, dragged him out into

the street, and tried to kill him. So great was the riot that some Roman soldiers came running up, and their captain, thinking that St. Paul had caused the trouble, arrested him and ordered him to be beaten. As they bound him, St. Paul asked the officer who stood by,

"Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned?"

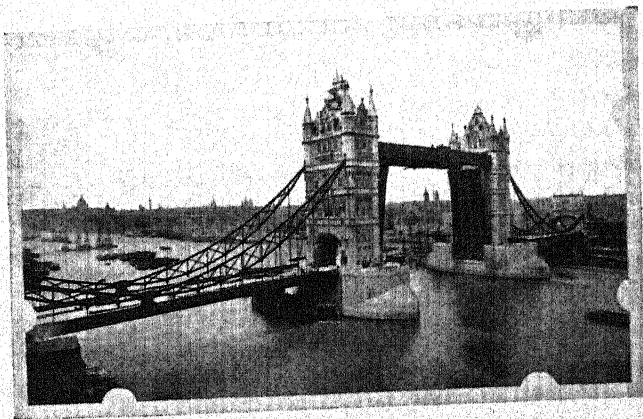
"Art thou a Roman?" demanded the chief captain, and on hearing the proud answer "Yea," he ordered the soldiers to untie the cords, for there was a law that no citizen of Rome should be beaten. Thus St. Paul, though he was born at Tarsus in Asia Minor, enjoyed the privileges of men born at Rome hundreds of miles away.

The city of Rome had become the centre of a great empire; that is, of a large number of different countries in which the people had different customs and spoke different languages, but were alike in one thing: they all had to obey the laws of Rome and to help to pay the expenses of government. They were in fact citizens in the widest meaning of the word.

So nowadays, when we speak of a citizen we mean a person who belongs to one country or one empire, or, as we say, one State. This may be large or small. Holland is a little country; the British Empire includes half the world: the people of Holland are citizens of Holland, and the people of every part of the British Empire are British citizens.

Now we have seen that a citizen is a person who enjoys certain privileges and has certain duties. If an Englishman goes to some foreign country and is ill-treated there,

he can claim the protection of his Government, which will see that he has justice done him so long as he does not disobey the laws of the country in which he is living. But in return for this protection he has to perform certain duties. He must obey the laws of his own country when he is at home, and when he is abroad he must do nothing that will injure his own country. If England



The Tower Bridge. The Gateway of the Capital.

were at war, we should think it very mean and base of any Englishman to help his country's enemies; we should consider him to be no longer a British citizen, but a traitor.

It is very necessary for every citizen to obey the laws of his country, for a State cannot be strong and peaceful if its members do as they please. Perhaps we shall understand this best if we take the example of a large family. Here there must be obedience or there will be

disorder ; for we all know how uncomfortable the household is where someone is shouting " I won't do this " or " I won't do that " the whole day long. Generally, in a large family each of the members has his particular task : the father and the elder brothers go out to work, the younger ones make themselves useful before school-time in cleaning boots or breaking coal, while the girls may go into service or else help their mother at home. The business of providing for all is only managed comfortably because each does his share, and this is the link which binds them all together and makes them feel an interest in one another's affairs.

A state or country is like a family on a very large scale. Its comfort and happiness depend on each citizen doing his work well and taking an interest in the work of all his fellow-citizens.

" Our country is our home," wrote the Italian Mazzini, who spent his life in the service of Italy, " the home which God has given us, placing therein a numerous family whom we love, by whom we are loved, and with whom we have an intimate and quicker communion of feeling and thought than with others. . . . Our country is our field of labour." If we look at our own Empire we shall see that Mazzini's words are true. All over the British Empire there is a feeling of sorrow when the news spreads of some disaster that has happened to British citizens, just as there is a thrill of joy or triumph on occasions of rejoicing or success.

At the time when England was at war with the Boers in South Africa, soldiers went to fight there, not only from the British Isles, but from all over the Empire, and

these colonial troops were every bit as brave and keen in their work as their fellow-citizens from the home country. Englishmen, Australians, Canadians and others fought side by side, and shared in the dangers and discomforts, the defeats and victories.

Some years later they were standing side by side again, but this time for peace not war, and they lined the London streets as King George V passed to his coronation in Westminster Abbey, while in every town and village throughout the Empire rose the shout :

God save our gracious King !
Send him victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us,
God save the King !

These are just two instances of the link that binds citizens of the British Empire together, and brings them across the sea to help one another in danger, or take their share in national rejoicings. It is a great and wonderful thing, this "patriotism," or "love of the Fatherland," as we call the link which is forged of the willing obedience of all the members of the Empire to her government. Without "patriotism" citizenship would be something like a motor with no petrol to make the complicated bits of machinery do their work. The government might be there, but it would be powerless.

And we must remember when we are thinking of patriotism that it is a matter of deeds, not words. People sometimes behave as if it were only another name for bragging. "Oh! ours is a splendid country, the best in the world!" they will boast as they sit comfort-

ably by their fires ; or else they will go abroad and greet everything they are shown with the scornful comment, "Oh! that's nothing to what we have in England." Then they will imagine they have been patriotic and upheld the credit of their State, whereas they have merely made themselves appear ridiculous.

We cannot possibly tell if the State of which we are citizens is the best in the world ; we can only try to make it so by solid hard work : and that is what we mean by true patriotism.

Many years ago our army was at war in that southern peninsula of Russia called the Crimea. The suffering of the troops was intense, for the preparations for the campaign had been badly managed, supplies of food and clothing were delayed or lost on the sea voyage, much of the tinned meat intended for the army was bad when it arrived, and there was no proper medical aid or system of nursing. Hundreds who fell ill of fever, or were wounded in battle, died from lack of care and attention, and others from sheer starvation and exposure to the icy winds that sweep across the Black Sea. Fortunately there was an English war-correspondent in the Crimea who wrote home reports of all the misery and suffering he saw about him, and great indignation sprang up in England wherever the newspapers were read.

Everybody began to talk about the Crimea and say how shameful the state of affairs was, and at last some one stepped forward to act instead of talk. It was Florence Nightingale who, at the head of a number of other trained nurses, sailed to the East to take charge of the big hospital where our wounded men lay. The

task before her would have appalled anyone less strong and steadfast, for the confusion, misery, and dirt of the gloomy barracks that formed the hospital wards were indescribable. Quietly, however, she set to work, and soon the tired and suffering patients had cause to bless this gentle woman, who never wearied or thought of herself, but used all her time and knowledge to bring them comfort and cleanliness, and to ease their pain.

Lo ! in that house of misery
A lady with a lamp I see
 Pass through the glimmering gloom,
 And flit from room to room.
And slow, as in a dream of bliss,
The speechless sufferer turns to kiss
 Her shadow, as it falls
 Upon the darkening walls.

Thus wrote the poet Longfellow of Florence Nightingale, to whose example of practical patriotism we owe our trained corps of army nurses to-day.

A lady with a lamp shall stand
In the great history of the land.

This is the reward of her patriotism ; and to help to build "the great history of the land" is the reward of every act of willing obedience and service done by a British citizen, however small and insignificant it may seem at the time. If that history is a record of glory and hard work, citizens will enjoy the position of honour and privilege that the word "citizenship" implies ; for, just as a man's wages depend on the value of his work, so a citizen's rights are measured by the duties he has fulfilled to gain them.

Chapter II

Laws

EVERY State possesses a *government*. Governments are of different kinds. The head of it may be a king, as in England, or a president, as in France ; but whatever the form of government may be, its duty is to look after the welfare of the citizens of the country, and to see that they in return obey their country's laws. We shall see presently what laws are, and how they are made.

In this chapter we shall learn how important laws are ; for you will occasionally find men and women who pretend that laws are unnecessary, and that we should be much more comfortable and happy without them. When they are pressed for their reasons, they say that people ought to be "free as savages," and draw a picture of what they call a "Golden Age," when there were no laws, and every one was good and happy.

If we try to imagine what this "Golden Age" would have been like, had it ever existed, we shall soon see what a mistake these men and women make, and how impossible it would be to live in a land without laws.

Let us take the example of a savage, and call him "Man Friday" after the famous savage in *Robinson Crusoe*, and let us try to picture him living in a land in which there were no laws, so that he could do exactly what he pleased. Man Friday might get up in the morning at whatever hour he liked ; he could pick himself bananas and coco-nuts from the neighbouring

trees ; he could go out and hunt game with his bow and arrows, or fish in the sea ; and no one would have any right to interfere with him. When he had time he could build himself a hut in a forest clearing, and then loll in front of the door all day, if he felt disinclined for work.

This would be very satisfactory from Man Friday's point of view, that is to say if there were no other savages ; but suppose some of his neighbours came along one day and saw Man Friday's hut, and his heap of bananas and coco-nuts, and his fish cooking on a wood fire. Perhaps they might be envious, and decide to kill him and steal his things ; and though he would have just as much right to kill them if he chose, because there was no law against murder, yet, since they were several to one, they would probably kill him or else make him their slave, and his "Golden Age" of doing what he pleased would come quickly to an end.

You see then why laws and government are necessary. A savage, such as we have just described, is free to do just what he pleases : but if he is strong, he may ill-treat those who are weaker than himself : if he is weak, he will always be at the mercy of the stronger. Laws are necessary to protect the weak against the strong. There is a law that says "Thou shalt not kill," and a government is needed to see that the law is carried out, or to punish those who disobey it, so that other men may be kept from the wickedness of murder. Laws, you see, put a check on a man's freedom for the sake of his fellow-men : he must give up a part of his freedom in order that his fellows may be more free. Good laws are

those that allow as much freedom to each individual citizen as is good for the whole people.

But it is of no use to have good laws unless there is a government strong enough to see that they are obeyed. If we wish to be quite sure of this, we have only to think of what England was like in the days of King Stephen.

An historian who lived in his time compared the dreadful state of misery with that in Palestine, "when there was no king in Israel, but each man did what seemed right in his own eyes." "But in England under Stephen," he continued sadly, "it was worse, for . . . through the weakness of the King the law languished, and, though some did what seemed right to them, many, since the fear of the King and the law was taken away, did that which they knew to be wrong."

Another historian tells us some of the wrong things that they did: "They filled the land full of castles . . . Then they took those whom they suspected to have any goods, by night and by day, seizing both men and women, and they put them in prison on account of their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable. They hung some up by their feet and smoked them with foul smoke; some by their thumbs or by the head; and they hung burning things on their feet. Many thousands they exhausted with hunger. I cannot and I may not tell you of all the wounds and all the tortures that they inflicted upon the wretched men of this land; and this state of things lasted the nineteen years that Stephen was king, and ever grew worse and worse.

"Then was corn dear, and flesh and cheese and butter, for there was none in the land: wretched men starved with hunger; some lived on alms who had been before rich, some fled the country—never was there more misery."

This is a dreadful account, the more dreadful because it is not an imaginary picture, but describes what really happened in England some hundreds of years ago. It shows how necessary it is that a country should possess laws, and that it should have a government strong enough to see that the laws are obeyed.

A question which we feel inclined to ask is: Who makes the laws which good citizens obey? By what right do certain people lay down laws for certain other people? In days long ago the King made the laws; he alone told people what they must do or must not do, and they had to obey him because he had the power to compel them. If he was a wise king, who thought of the good of the people as well as his own good, he was careful to make laws which reasonable folk could obey cheerfully; if he was unwise and selfish, his commands roused feelings of bitter anger and dislike.

In course of time people grew to think that one man should not have the power to compel a whole nation to do just what pleased him. They thought that the people themselves should have a voice in any matter that greatly concerned them. This led to a long struggle between the King and the people—a struggle which lasted for many hundreds of years, and ended in all power being taken from the King and assumed by the people. We shall see in the pages of this book how the people exercise the enormous power which they have won.

Now that the people are their own lawgivers, they have only themselves to blame if the laws are bad. It is to their interest to see that good laws are made. What do we mean by good laws? We mean laws that help people to live free and happy lives; laws that encourage honest, hardworking folk, and discourage idle and dishonest knaves; laws that prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, and that help the poor in their struggle for life. Such laws, as we have already seen, check the freedom of individuals, but at the same time they make for the happiness of the greater number. Sensible persons are quite content to make some sacrifice themselves, if by so doing they are helping others.

We see this quite clearly if we think of a very simple example. Every year a boatrace is rowed between two crews representing the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In order to prepare themselves for the great race, the eighteen young men who form these crews undergo willingly weeks of hard training. They rise early and go early to bed; they take long walks and runs; they deny themselves many things that are nice to eat because these things do not help to make their bodies fit for the hard work of the race. In short, they obey the *laws* of training. In this case they give up something in order that they may win honour for their University. It is just the same in greater things than a boatrace. People obey the laws of the State, and in so doing give up their freedom to a certain extent, so that the nation at large may be wealthy, prosperous, and contented.

Some thoughtless and selfish people, of course, object

to rules and regulations : like the savage, they would much rather do as they please, forgetting, or not caring, that what pleases them may hurt other people.

"They won't let me smoke my pipe down there," said a sulky miner once, pointing to the mouth of a shaft ; "but now and again I have my bit of baccy on the sly."

The man knew that he was forbidden to smoke, but he had never taken the trouble to think why the order was given. Some day he will have his "bit of baccy" on the sly, and the light from his pipe will set fire to the gases in the underground passages, and that will mean death to him and his fellow-workers, for a fire in a mine is one of the most frightful disasters of our industrial life.

If that miner stopped to think, he would probably own that the rule which forbade smoking was a good one : he would never wish to cause the death of his mates. So it would be well for every British citizen to think about the laws of his country, to find out what the most important are, and how they are made and carried out. Then he would learn that our laws are made "by the people and for the people," and that therefore obedience to those laws is not only a duty that citizens owe to the State, but a matter of common sense on the part of every man, woman, and child.

Keep ye the law—be swift in all obedience—

Clear the land of evil, drive the road and bridge the ford.

Make ye sure to each his own,

That he reap where he hath sown ;

By the peace among our peoples let men know we serve
the Lord !

Book I

The Motherland

A land of settled government,
A land of just and old renown,
Where Freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent.—TENNYSON.

Chapter III

Everyday Laws

A SCHOOL-INSPECTOR once asked a boy what he knew about the laws of his land.

"Oh!" he answered, "they're something to do with the police." "Haven't they anything to do with you, then?" continued the inspector; and the boy shook his head indignantly as he replied, "No; I haven't been doing anything that's wrong."

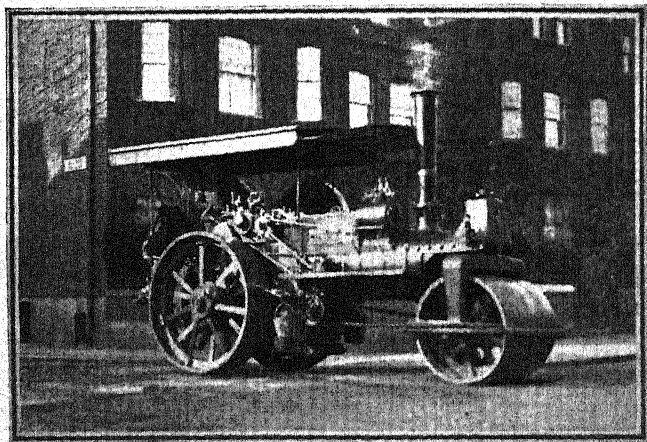
Many people in England share this boy's opinion, and believe that so long as they behave themselves the laws of their country will concern them very little, if at all; but here they are making a great mistake. Everyone in England comes daily into contact with the laws in some form or other, quite apart from the fact of whether his or her personal conduct has been good or bad.

Now we saw at the beginning of this book that a citizen is a member of a country or State : that is, he is one of a large number of people who live under one government and make up a nation. But he is also one of a smaller body of people : those who live in his own city, town, village, or district. Each of these smaller bodies of people—*communities*, as they are often called—has a little government of its own, which makes rules for the part of the country in which it lives. These rules are called by-laws, to distinguish them from the laws which affect the whole population. We shall first deal with these “everyday laws,” as we may call them ; we shall see how the separate little communities are governed, and what the good citizen has to do for the good of his own neighbours ; then we shall go on to see how the whole country is governed, and what duties men and women must perform if they are to be good citizens of the British Empire.

The small girl, who lives in a cottage on a highroad near the outskirts of a town, will see many signs of our “everyday laws” before she arrives at her school early in the morning. There will be men sweeping or tarring the roads, perhaps there will be a large steam-roller snorting along as it crushes the newly-spread stones and lays them in a smooth surface. Nearer the town the narrow pathway will become a firm hard pavement, there will be lamp-posts at more frequent intervals, dust-carts and watering-carts will rumble past her, and policemen will slowly patrol the streets. The small girl has seen these things so often that she scarcely spares them a thought, yet they are all the results of laws of one kind or another,

made for the security and comfort of British citizens, and she would be one of the first to suffer if they ceased to exist.

If it had not been for these laws the highroad would be bumpy and uneven, with great holes here and there made by heavy wheels, and the surface would never be



Steam-roller at Work.

scraped or tarred. There would be no pavements on which people might walk without danger from carts and motors, no street-lamps to show them their way at night, no watering-carts, no dust-carts, and no policemen.

These are only a few instances of what we owe to laws, but they are quite sufficient to show us that laws are a matter of concern to every citizen, young or old.

And how are these laws made which we come across

continually in our daily lives? It is obvious that some one must be in a position to tell the workmen to mend and clean the roads, pay them their wages, and provide steam-rollers, watering-carts, and lamp-posts.

I wonder if any of you ever trouble to read the local newspapers that are printed every week to tell people what is happening in their own neighbourhood? If so you will remember headings in large black letters, "Meeting of the — Parish Council," and then underneath in small print what Councillor "So-and-So" said, and how Councillor "Some-one-Else" disagreed with him. I dare say you read the whole account, and were interested because you knew some of the people whose names were mentioned; but it never occurred to you at the time that it mattered to you personally what these Councillors finally settled. It does matter a great deal to everybody, because these members of the Council are chosen to look after the well-being of their parish or district. We must therefore learn something about the Parish Councils and other larger Councils that have a great deal to do with the "everyday laws" under which we pass our lives.

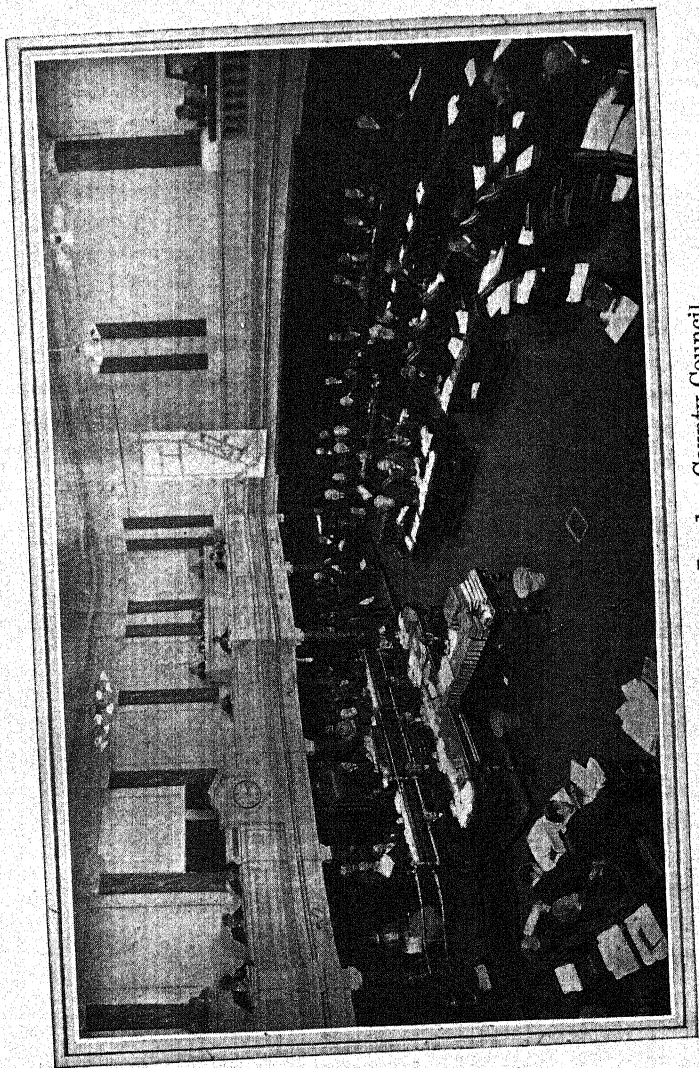
The word "parish" is very old indeed. In early days it was the name given to a few villages or a small town grouped round a church; and the affairs of the "parish" were usually settled at a meeting of the more important inhabitants presided over by the clergyman of the place. These meetings were called "Vestry-meetings," because they were held in the vestries of the churches; and nowadays there are still vestry-meetings, but they deal with matters that have to do with the church alone, such

as the way in which the building shall be lighted and warmed. As the population increased, and with it the amount of business that had to be transacted in every neighbourhood, many of the old parishes were by law divided up into two or three smaller ones, and to each was given a body called a Parish Council to look after its own affairs.

If there is a footpath in the neighbourhood half under water or overgrown with weeds, it is the duty of the Parish Council to see that it is repaired or cleared. If the streets are dark at night, the Parish Council must decide whether or no there shall be lamps put up. It must also keep a register of all the births and deaths in the parish, and this has been found a very necessary piece of work. Occasionally people who wish to receive an Old Age Pension have forgotten their birthdays, or they pretend to be more than their true age in the hope of obtaining the money earlier than they should ; but if their names are down in the register there can be no doubt about the dates.

These are a few of the duties of a Parish Council, but others which are more important are left to larger Councils whose names you can also read in big black letters in your local papers. Both in town and country there are District Councils, while besides these there are Town Councils and Borough Councils for the different towns and boroughs, and though there are so many of them there is always plenty of work for them all to do.

Sometimes they arrange for bridges and by-roads to be repaired, and for streets to be cleaned and paved ;



A Sitting of the London County Council.

while at other times it is a question of laying out a pleasure-garden, providing fire-engines, or building public baths or hospitals.

Above and beyond all these bewildering Councils, with their duties dovetailed in and out of one another, are the County Councils that deal each with the most important business of their own county, and supervise and control the less important work of the Councils below them. They see amongst other things that the main highroads are strong and firm, that schools are built and attended, that there are Lunatic Asylums where mad people can be kept from harming themselves and others, and that there is a stalwart police force to ensure obedience to the laws.

London is so big that it is treated as a county all to itself, and has its own County Council. It is divided up into a number of divisions. In the centre there is the crowded part called the City of London, and round this are grouped all the different London boroughs, each with its own Council.

The City of London is ruled over by a body of officials called the "Corporation," and at their head is the Lord Mayor of London, who is such an important person that in old days he used to be named in fun the "King of London." Other towns and cities in England have their mayors and corporations, but they are none of them so important or so grand as those belonging to the capital.

Turn again, Whittington, thrice Mayor of London town, rang out the city bells in the old fairy story, promising

to the young apprentice the highest honour that any London boy could hope to obtain.

As you can imagine, all these Councils, from the county down to the parish, must spend large sums of money, for roads cannot be mended or buildings made for nothing. Even to keep a parish-register costs time,



Lord Mayor of London with the City Sword and
Mace Bearers.

paper, and ink. The money is collected by a tax called "rates."

Every one, whether man or woman, who owns the house in which he lives or rents it from another, has to put his hand in his pocket and pay a certain part of the expenses of the neighbourhood. The amount he pays depends on the amount of his rent or the value of his house. He is then what is called "a ratepayer,"

and has a voice in deciding how his money shall be spent. He cannot, of course, attend the various Councils himself and state his views, for if every ratepayer tried to do this the meeting would be so large, and so many would wish to speak, that no business would be done. In many parishes it would be impossible to put all the men and women who pay rates into one room, while in some of the counties the numbers would run into millions.

Ratepayers have therefore thought of another plan, and instead of attending the Councils themselves they choose a few of their number to "represent" them. These "representatives" are known as "Councillors," and according as they are wise or foolish the local laws will be good or bad.

When the time comes for electing new Councillors, if it is one of the big elections, like that for the County Councils or London Borough Councils, there may be great fuss and excitement. Mr. John Smith, whose name has been suggested by his friends as a good candidate, will go about telling people what he would like to see done for the town or district. If people agree with him he will probably be elected without any trouble ; but perhaps Mr. Henry Brown and Mr. William Jones have different ideas about what should be done, and think they would be better Councillors than Mr. Smith. In that case there is a contest. The ratepayers will have to listen to the speeches and read the addresses of the candidates, and decide whom they think the best of all these possible representatives, and then when the polling-day arrives they must go and vote for him.

All over the county or borough, or wherever the

election is being held, there will be places called polling-booths announced where people can go and vote, and these are generally the local schoolhouses. Any rate-payer may go and give his vote on the polling day, between the hours of eight in the morning and eight in the evening. When he arrives at the appointed place he will find an official called the Returning Officer, who will ask him his name and then look it up in the register to make sure that it is there, and that the rates have been paid.

If it is correct the man will be given a piece of paper, and on it he will see the names of the different candidates, and he must put a cross against the name of the one to whom he wishes to give his vote.

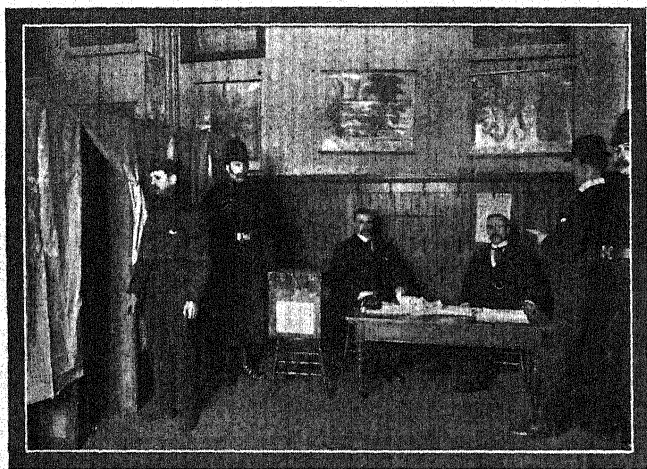
BROWN, HENRY	
JONES, WILLIAM	×
SMITH, JOHN	

Then he must fold up his piece of paper and drop it into one of the locked boxes standing on the table near at hand. These are called ballot-boxes, and they are made with a long narrow slit like that of a money-box so that it would be impossible to draw any of the papers out. No one can tell for whom other people have voted, and so there is no danger of a man being frightened into voting against his conscience, as in old days when all the votes had to be given openly.

At the end of the evening, when eight o'clock has

struck, all the ballot-boxes are collected in one place and the votes are counted : so many to Smith, so many to Brown, so many to Jones.

In the imaginary example given below, if there was one vacancy in the Council to be filled, John Smith would be elected ; if there were two, Smith and Brown,



A Polling Station.

because Smith has more votes than Brown, and Brown than Jones.

BROWN, HENRY	807 votes
JONES, WILLIAM	311 „
SMITH, JOHN	1,009 „

You will notice in this example that the votes for Brown and Jones added together make more than the

votes for Smith, so that after all Smith may not really represent the greater number of voters. But it is the rule that the candidate who has the largest number of votes—the *majority*, as we say—shall be considered elected ; and when he is once elected he is to be regarded as representing the whole community.

It is not a very difficult thing to put a mark against a man's name on a piece of paper. Yet out of all the millions of ratepayers it is wonderful how few take the trouble to go and do it. "It doesn't make any difference," they say sometimes ; or else they ask—"Why should we bother?"

Now it is very probable that many of you will become ratepayers when you grow up, and in case you should be inclined to say these same things then, I want to explain to you at once that it does make a vast difference whether ratepayers vote or not. This will be easier to understand if we take the simpler case of a cricket club. Here the members pay their subscriptions and choose a committee from amongst themselves to select the team, arrange the matches, and settle how the money shall be spent.

If one of the committee is a man with no business head, but with a very good opinion of himself and a clever tongue, he may do his club a great deal of harm.

"Look here !" he will say to the rest of the committee-members, "our club can't go on in this old shed. It isn't smart enough. What we want is a pavilion." And when the pavilion is finally decided on, he will have ideas as to how it must be expensively painted, with an ornamented verandah in front for visitors. "We may

as well do it in style while we are about it," will be his excuse for this extravagance.

He might be in the right, too, if the club had much money to spare ; but if the subscriptions were small, the committee would probably find at the end of the season that, after deducting the bill for the pavilion, there was very little left to pay for the care of the pitch and other necessary expenses. The only way out of the difficulty would be to make all the members pay doubled or trebled subscriptions, and at this they would almost certainly grumble.

Yet they would only have themselves to blame after all. If a club choose a bad committee, either because many of the members do not take the trouble to attend the meetings, or because the rest are deceived by the man with the clever tongue, it will be the fault of their own laziness and stupidity that their money is wasted, and that they are called upon to spend more than they expected.

It is just the same with the elections for the local Councils, even if it is only a Parish Council, where Councillors are generally chosen by a show of hands instead of by papers dropped into ballot-boxes. Men and women very rarely "get anything for nothing," and if they do not take the trouble to vote for good representatives to make their laws, they will have bad laws and suffer for it.

Sometimes it is very necessary for the local Councils to spend large sums of money, it may be for a much-needed hospital or for an extension of tram-lines ; and then the ratepayers must make up their minds that

what they are paying for is worth the price, and open their purses cheerfully. But there are other kinds of expense that are both wasteful and useless, and rate-payers must not choose representatives who will be inclined to indulge in them because they find it very easy to be generous with other people's money.

Of course, even the best of ratepayers may make mistakes about their votes now and then ; but after the election is over they can keep their eye on the men they have chosen, by reading the local papers, in which exact accounts of all the Council meetings are given. Then if they find out that John Smith is a boaster very ready to spend other people's money, and that Henry Brown is cowardly and timid, they will take care not to vote for either of them another time, but will choose really good men instead.

Great hearts, strong minds, true faith and willing hands ;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill,
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy,
Men who possess conviction and a will,
Men who have honour, men who dare not lie.

This is a high ideal, but if we look at the history of our empire we learn that there have been and are such men. Just think, if we chose only such men to make our laws, how splendid those laws would be, and how happy and prosperous every one who had to obey them !

Chapter IV

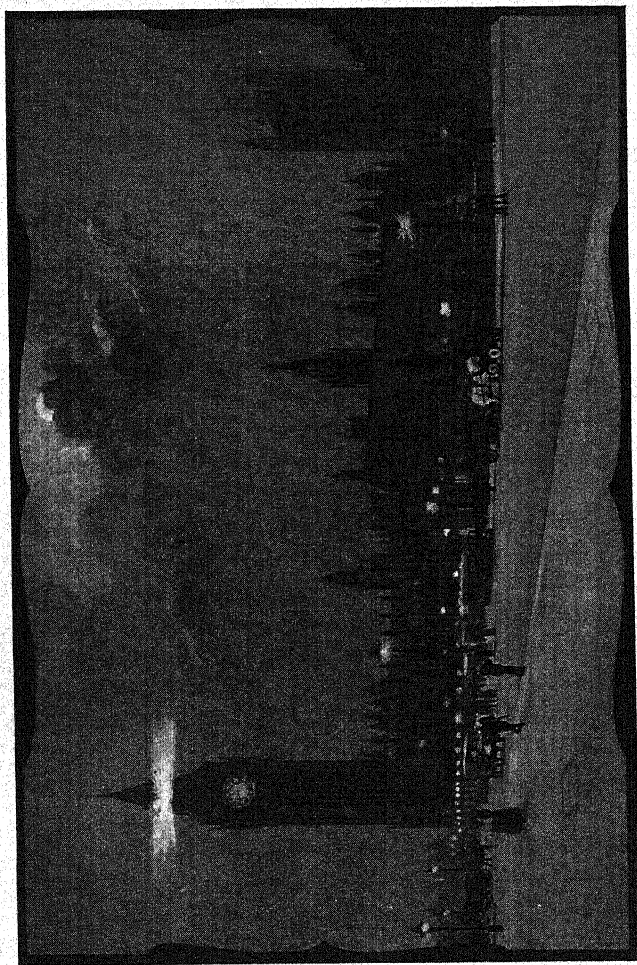
How the Laws are Made

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

IN the last chapter I told you about the local Councils which have to do with the affairs of their own districts, whether small or large. The separate communities—towns, villages, and so on—make up the whole of this great nation, and there are matters that affect all the people, whatever part of the country they live in. These matters are too important to be dealt with by the local Councils, and they are entrusted to a great central Council, "Parliament," which far exceeds all the others in dignity and power.

The word "parliament" is really French, for it is derived from the French verb *parler*, to speak; and so we can see how it came to be used of the men who gathered together "to speak" about national affairs.

At the head of Parliament is the King, and below him are "the two Houses," as they are called, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. They hold their meetings at Westminster. No doubt every London boy and girl know the Houses of Parliament well by sight, with their tall towers, and the giant clock, Big Ben, with its minute-hand four yards long. Every night when the members of Parliament are sitting at Westminster a lamp is lit above Big Ben, and shines out into the darkness until they have finished their business and gone home. It is something like a lighthouse, this quiet



The Lantern in the Clock Tower, Houses of Parliament.

steady glow, which tells us that in the buildings below men are watching over the national life to keep it safe and sound.

It is in these Houses of Parliament that all the laws of the United Kingdom have their beginning, for, important though the local Councils are, none of them may undertake any business without leave from the central Parliament at Westminster, which entrusts them with exactly as much power and authority as it thinks fit, and no more. Besides the work of supervising and controlling the local Councils, Parliament has its own laws to make, and these are generally of far-reaching importance. Sometimes they affect the Colonies in distant parts of the world, and so Parliament has come to be known as the "Imperial Parliament," because it can make laws for the whole empire. Later on we shall see that many of the larger colonies rule themselves, and that they are seldom interfered with by the mother country, which wisely recognizes that people on the spot know better how to deal with their own affairs than people at a distance. Yet the Parliament at Westminster still reserves the right to interfere and impose its will, if it seems necessary for the good of the Empire.

"Parliament can do everything but make a man a woman or a woman a man," some one once said, and though of course this is an exaggeration, it gives a very fair idea of the importance of this Imperial Council, which has the fortunes of so many people resting on its decisions.

The most important part of Parliament is the House of Commons, which is composed, very much in the same

way as the local Councils, of representatives elected by those who pay taxes. Any man who is over 21 years of age and has a house, or land, or lodgings worth £10 a year or more, may give his vote, and so may many others; but women, although they pay taxes and may vote for the local Councils, are not at present allowed to vote for Parliament.

There are other people who may not vote either: members of the House of Lords, children, foreigners, convicts, and lunatics; but still the number of those who may and do vote runs into many millions, and over 600 members of Parliament are needed to represent all the districts, called "constituencies", into which the country is divided for election purposes. Every constituency, according to its size or importance, elects one or more members, who receive a salary of £400 a year to repay them for any losses they may suffer through having to neglect their private business while attending to public affairs.

No House of Commons may last for more than five years, for it would never do if, once a Parliament was elected, its members were allowed to sit as long as they liked without being in the least responsible to those who had chosen them.

On the other hand, it would be bad both for the trade and the peace of the country if general elections were held very often, for they are expensive, and, as a rule, disturbing affairs. No doubt you remember what the last election of a member in your own neighbourhood was like.

Every bare wall and hoarding for weeks beforehand

was covered with placards of "Vote for So-and-So," and people in the streets wore coloured badges. When it drew near the polling-day there were frequent meetings in halls, in the streets or on the village-green, at which the candidates and their friends made speeches, while the audience asked them questions and sometimes hooted or cheered.

On the day itself everything happened just as if it had been an election for one of the local Councils, except that there was more excitement, and the streets were full of gaily decked cars and carriages carrying voters to the polling booths.

Then there was the day soon afterwards, or perhaps it was late that very night, when the Mayor or some other officer announced the number of votes from the balcony of the Town Hall, and declared that Mr. So-and-So had been elected. At this, amid cheers and shouts of "He's a jolly good fellow," Mr. So-and-So stepped forward and made a speech. After that night everything quieted down, and in a few weeks people had begun to forget that there had been an election, or only remembered it as a time when they and their neighbours shouted and sang.

Now what did it really mean, this cheering and excitement and counting of votes?

It meant that some one had been elected to go and sit in the House of Commons at Westminster, and represent the wishes of the people in that particular constituency.

And would it make very much difference to that constituency if the man who was elected proved to be a good or bad member?

I can answer that question best by reminding you of what I said in the last chapter about the cricket club and the local Councils. If there is an unbusiness-like committee we have seen that a club will run into debt, while if there are unpractical Councillors the rate-payers will have to pay large sums of money for unnecessary or inferior work.

In the same way if there are bad members of Parliament elected, they will be selfish, careless, or cowardly in their decisions; and in the case of Parliament this will be the more serious because, instead of handling small sums like the cricket club committee, the members will be dealing with millions of pounds of other people's money. And even more than spending money, these members will be called upon to decide difficult questions, concerned both with the affairs of other nations and also with the lives and consciences of every British subject.

Voters then must consider very carefully before they put a cross against a candidate's name, and be sure they have chosen the right man. They must not allow themselves to be bribed with promises of money or food into giving their votes just as they are asked. One reason for this is that bribery, since it means the sale of a citizen's right to secure a good government, is felt to be a crime against the State, and is punished by fines or imprisonment; but there is an underlying reason as well that ought to appeal to every sensible person. The man who goes to a house to make an offer of money or food in exchange for a vote does not intend to do a kindness, but to drive a bargain. He expects to get more than he gives; and the voter, who sells his right to choose the

member in whom he really believes, has come off second best, and will pay for his foolishness in the long run.

It will not do either, as we have already seen in the case of the local Councils, for voters to stand on one side and say, "Oh! I shan't vote at all; it's too much bother." The man who has a right to a vote must neither sell nor neglect it. He must use it, for it has been given him not only as a right, but a duty. If he is too lazy or selfish to go to the poll he may very probably be punished by having to submit to bad laws, but unfortunately other people will suffer for his negligence as well.

This is felt so strongly in our colony of New Zealand that, if the people there who have a right to vote do not exercise it, their names are struck off the register of voters altogether. It would be a very good thing if this were done in the mother country, for then Englishmen would learn the value of the vote, and only those who cared sufficiently for the welfare of their country to do something towards securing it would be allowed to decide how she should be governed. There would be no more of that careless system of voting by which men go to the poll or stay away, just as the fancy takes them, heedless of whether good or bad members are sent to Westminster to make their laws.

It is told of a certain Englishman that he once walked fifty miles to give his vote. Here is a case of practical citizenship. It shows that if the welfare of the country depends on good laws, it is worth the time and energy of every citizen who has the right to vote, to see that the laws are really good, even at the cost of personal inconvenience and trouble.

Chapter V

How the Laws are Made (*continued*)

THE WORK OF PARLIAMENT

THERE are two Latin words—*major* (greater) and *minor* (less)—that every citizen ought to remember, because we use words very like them to explain how our government does its work. We say, for instance, that our State is governed by the votes of a “majority” of electors. Now what do we mean by this?

We mean that every member of the House of Commons must have gained “more” votes at the last election in his constituency than his rival candidates, while the latter are said to be “in a minority” because they received “less” votes.

This idea of a “majority” and a “minority” does not stop when an election is over. It is carried on into the two Houses of Parliament, as you will see; but first I want to remind you of something I told you about local Councillors.

I said that the men who wish to be chosen as Councillors visit the electors for some weeks before the polling-day, and explain what they will try to do if they are elected.

Now this is what candidates for Parliament do in their constituencies, only instead of each candidate making plans on his own account, he joins with a number of other candidates throughout the country to bring forward and uphold certain definite schemes. This is

called "joining a party," and the ideas and proposals each party adopts are generally said to be "the party policy" or "programme."

In Great Britain there have been for many years two great parties, each with its own particular policy, which changes as old problems are settled and new questions arise.

These two great parties have had different names at different times: the names now generally used are Liberals for the one, and Unionists for the other. There is a third party which of late years has been growing in importance, the Labour party, representing a section of the working men of England and Scotland. The representatives of Ireland are divided into Unionists and Nationalists.

It is not easy to understand exactly how all these parties differ from one another. Indeed, we cannot understand it at all without knowing a good deal about our country's history. What is important to remember is, that *country* stands before *party*; that every citizen of this Empire ought first to consider how the people at large will be affected by any proposed course of action.

When the House of Commons meets at Westminster after a general election, there will be members representing all parties. The party which has a "majority," that is to say more members than the other, receives the name of the Government Party, and to it is entrusted the task of governing the land.

The Government Party sit on the "Government benches,"—long rows of comfortable seats arranged down one side of the large hall where the Commons

meet. The head of the Government is the Prime Minister, and beside him on the front bench sit a number of other "ministers," each of whom has charge of a particular department in the Government. We shall see in the next chapter what these departments are.

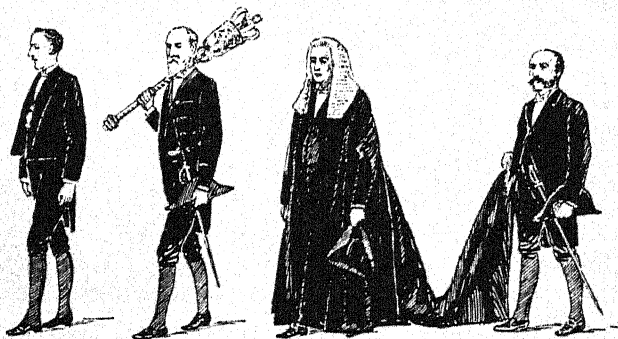
The Prime Minister and the other members of the Government are not directly elected. Each party has a "leader," who is sometimes chosen at a party meeting, sometimes attains his high position by sheer force of character: everybody recognizes that he and no other is marked out for leadership. The leader of the party which has a majority is sent for by the King and made Prime Minister. He then chooses from among the Members of Parliament, either Lords or Commons, the men whom he wishes to be his colleagues, and the chief of these, like the Prime Minister himself, have to be elected a second time by their constituents. Thus the people have a chance to say whether they approve of any particular man holding high office in the State

The Prime Minister and his principal colleagues form the "Cabinet," a committee which decides what proposals shall be laid before Parliament. At the beginning of each session of Parliament, what the Cabinet proposes to do is written down in a speech which is read by the King in the House of Lords, at the grand ceremony called the "Opening of Parliament."

When a new Parliament assembles, the first business in the House of Commons is the election of a "Speaker;" that is to say, a chairman to preside over their meetings. He sits in a carved chair at the head of the hall, and

whenever he enters or leaves the House an officer called the Sergeant-at-Arms carries before him the famous symbol of office, the Mace.

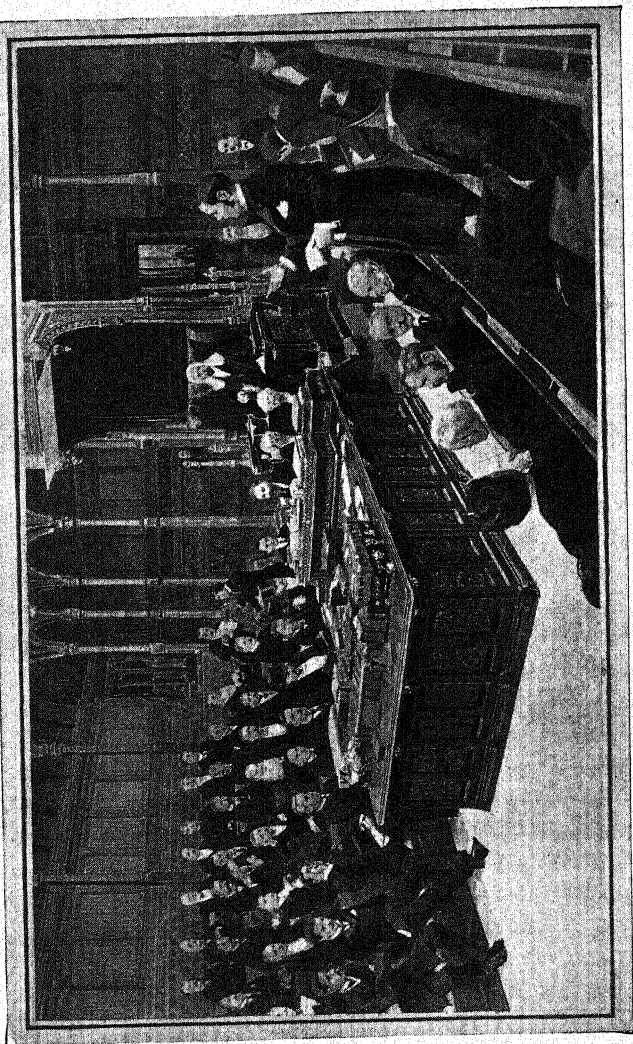
The Speaker belongs to no party, and it is his duty to keep order and preserve the dignity of the House. Perhaps you may think that this would not be a difficult task, but now and then members lose their tempers and quarrel and abuse one another. Then the Speaker



The Speaker and his Train-bearer, preceded by the Sergeant-at-Arms with the Mace.

will interfere and demand an apology from whoever is at fault, for no one would respect England if the hall in which her laws were made was turned into a bear-garden, where every one could squabble and fight as he pleased. It is obvious that people who cannot rule themselves are not fit to rule others.

If a member refuses to apologize or leave the House when he is told, the Speaker can send for the Sergeant-at-Arms and command him to arrest the man and



A Sitting of the Commons.

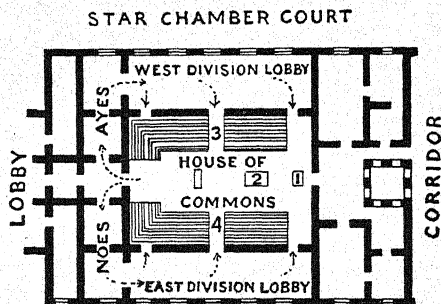
remove him by force, and then the work of Parliament will go on quietly without him.

We know that the chief work of Parliament is to make laws, but there is a great deal to be done before the proposal of any minister or private member can become law. First these proposals must be written down on paper, and then this paper or "bill," as it is called, must be read and discussed.

Some of the members will praise it, others will point out various ways in which it could be altered or improved, while there will probably be others again who will give their reasons for condemning it altogether. When it has been thoroughly discussed the bill must be voted on : that is to say, members who are in favour of it will walk out of one door of the hall, and those who are against it out of another. As they pass through the doors they will be counted, so many "ayes" and so many "noes," as those are called who are "for" or "against" a bill. According as there is a majority of "ayes" or "noes," the bill will be accepted or rejected. Even if it is accepted the bill is a long way yet from becoming law, for it must be discussed and voted on at least three times in the House of Commons, and then it will be sent up to the House of Lords to be discussed and voted on there. Yet you must not think that all this care and delay is a waste of time. There is a proverb that says "Make haste slowly," and this is a sound piece of advice where the making of laws is concerned.

Sometimes a member's bill will seem at first sight just the kind of reform that the country needs, and then bit

by bit a difficulty will appear here and a flaw there, and after days of discussion it may be realized that to carry out the suggestions of this bill would be quite impossible in practice. Some of the suggestions may be good, but a great number will have to be cut out and others put in their place; and all these changes in their turn must be discussed and voted on, for a single careless slip might cause the country untold harm.



COMMONS COURT

1. Speaker's Chair. 2. Table. 3. Government Benches.
4. Opposition Benches.

When a bill has been finally accepted by both Houses of Parliament it is sent first to the King, and after the King has signed it with his name it becomes one of the laws of our land and everybody must obey it. The only way in which the people can change an Act of Parliament after it has become law is by sending back to the House of Commons at election times a majority of members pledged to make the required alterations.

In the days before there was any House of Commons

the King used to make the laws with the help of a large Council of his barons, and this Council developed into our present House of Lords. Its members are not elected by the people at the beginning of every Parliament, but they and their successors sit and vote in the House of Lords by right of birth. Some of them are descendants of the barons whom the King used to summon long ago to his Council to give him advice, and others of men who were made peers because they were in favour at the royal Court, or as a reward for great national services, like the famous general the first Duke of Marlborough in the reign of Queen Anne.

Nowadays, if you read the papers you will see that the King, acting on the advice of his Prime Minister, often creates new peers, and these have a right to sit and vote in the House of Lords, and so will the heirs who succeed to their titles after they are dead. In this way, by making them members of one of the two Houses that are responsible for her laws, the country retains the services of citizens who have distinguished themselves in every branch of national life.

In addition to the peers who hand down the right to sit and vote in the House of Lords from father to son, there are a few men who are made peers only for life or during a term of office, and who are not succeeded by their sons. These are, first, the "Law Lords," as they are called, because they are famous lawyers and judges ; and next there are the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and a certain number of bishops, who have a right to attend the House of Lords on account of the high offices they hold in the Church of England. The most

important member of the House of Lords is the Lord Chancellor, who sits on a great wide seat called the



The Woolsack : the official seat of the Lord Chancellor.

Woolsack. He is Chairman of the Lords as the Speaker is of the Commons, but his powers are small compared with those of the Speaker.

The part of the House of Lords in law-making or

"legislation," as it is called, is to give a last careful revision to bills already discussed and voted on in the House of Commons. If the Lords wholly disapprove of a bill which the Commons have passed, they may reject it. At one time this rejection was final ; the Commons could not get their way until a new election had taken place, and the same proposals had been passed again by the newly elected members. In such a case the Lords would recognize that the people, by twice giving a majority to the same party, wished these proposals to become law, and when the bill was sent to them again by the Commons they would usually pass it. Now, however, if the same bill is passed by the Commons in three successive sessions of the same Parliament, it becomes law whether the Lords like it or not.

There is one class of bills over which the Lords have no control whatever. These are bills dealing with taxation. It has been for hundreds of years a principle that only the representatives of the people have a right to impose taxes ; and though this principle was sometimes disputed, it is now the law of the land.

But there is a third important stage in the making of laws besides the discussion of a bill in the two Houses. Above and beyond them both is the King, whose consent must be obtained before any bill can become an Act of Parliament.

In old days the King, as we have seen, was responsible for the laws, and his "ministers" were merely members of his Council, whom he consulted if he wished, and who carried out his schemes.

Every Englishman over twelve years of age had to

take an oath of allegiance or loyalty to the King, and the worst crime that he could commit was to break this oath. "If any man plot against the King's life let him be liable in his life and in all that he has," ran a law of Alfred the Great more than a thousand years ago, and to-day "high-treason," or disloyalty to the King, is still the greatest crime of which a British citizen can be found guilty.

"I, . . . , do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George V, his heirs and successors, according to law. So help me God!" are the words of the present oath of allegiance that a foreigner is required to take if he wishes to become a British citizen, or a British citizen if he is appointed to hold some high office in the State.

Men are asked to take this oath because all laws are carried out and all justice is administered in the King's name. It is he who summons Lords and Commons to meet at Westminster in the Houses of Parliament, which are really one of his royal palaces. It is he who as earthly head of the Church of England appoints its bishops and deans, while he also creates new peers and makes judges. Yet in spite of all that he is able to do there is a great difference between the position of our King to-day and the Kings of England in past times. We can put it in a very few words :

"In old days kings often ruled selfishly. Now they rule only for the good of their people."

When a bill has passed both Houses of Parliament the King never dreams of refusing his assent. Whatever the King does, whether it is to make a peer or a judge

or to summon Parliament, he does it by the advice of his ministers, and these ministers are the leaders of the "Government Party" in the House of Commons, who have been elected by the people. Thus our King is truly the people's King, for he rules by their will, and in return demands their loyalty and obedience.

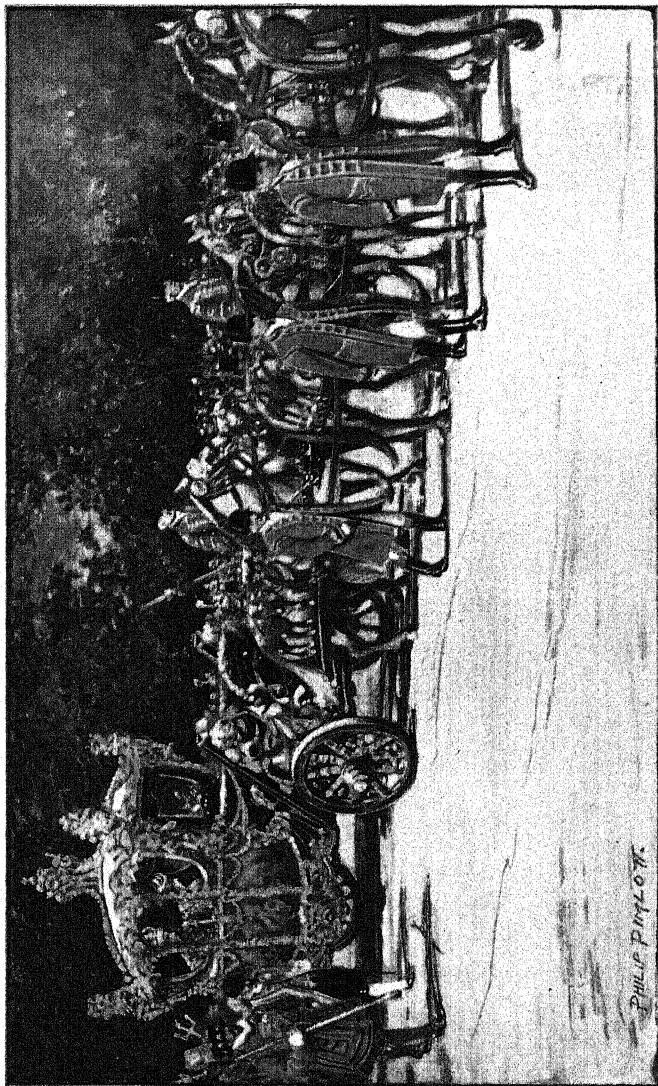
"The King comes not alone to his hallowing," said the Archbishop of York at the coronation of George V; "he bears his people with him." And when we think of our King as belonging to the people, we do not think of him only as the King of the people in England, but as the lord of the whole British Empire.

Have you ever thought of how an arch is built? All up the sides are any number of stones and bricks, and exactly in the middle is one large stone that locks and holds all the rest together. This is called the keystone of the arch, and our King has been described as "the keystone of the Empire," because in obedience to him, and to the laws that are made in his name, England and all her dominions are linked together.

Chapter VI

How the Laws are Carried Out

WE have seen that the making of laws, whether in the local Councils or in the big central Parliament at Westminster, requires a great deal of thought and trouble, but all this thought and trouble would be a mere waste



THE CORONATION PROCESSION.

of time if the laws when they were made were not properly carried out. The misery in England in the reign of King Stephen arose, not because there were no laws, but because "the law languished;" that is to say, because the King did not see that it was obeyed.

In old days it depended on the King himself whether his laws were obeyed or not; but now, although the laws are still carried out in the King's name, the actual work is done by the Civil Service, which is a branch of the Government just like the army or navy. Of course it is very important that "Civil Servants," as the men who belong to the Civil Service are called, should prove both clever and hardworking, and so there are public entrance examinations held every year in which only those who are most successful will be given posts. When a youth has succeeded in entering the Civil Service he will be put in a Government office, and can work his way up from post to post.

As there are different kinds of laws, so there are different Government offices to deal with them, and over each is placed a minister who, in the case of the most important offices at any rate, is also a member of the Government party in the House of Commons, and will have to answer there for the way in which the office under his control is managed. But the Prime Minister, and the Ministry as a whole, are responsible for the actions of every individual minister. If a minister disagrees with his colleagues, he must resign his office. If the proposal of any minister is defeated in the House of Commons, no matter how unimportant it may appear to be, the whole Ministry goes out of office. The Prime Minister either

hands his resignation to the King, or advises the King to dissolve Parliament and order a new House of Commons to be elected.

The principal ministers are called Secretaries of State. Each is at the head of a department of the Government, and is responsible for all the work done by the army of officials under his charge. There is one department for Home affairs, under the Home Secretary; another for Foreign affairs, under the Foreign Secretary; another for Colonial affairs, under the Secretary for the Colonies; another for Indian affairs, under the Secretary for India. Other departments have the army and the navy under their charge, the heads of these departments being called the Secretary of State for War, and the First Lord of the Admiralty. We shall take some of these departments, and see how the work of government is carried on.

The Foreign Office has to deal with any questions that may arise between Britain and other countries, and the minister at its head, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, will need both tact and foresight to carry out his task. The lives of British citizens who are travelling abroad are under his care and protection; and if, as sometimes happens to-day even in civilized Europe, some Englishmen were kidnapped by brigands and held up to ransom, he would have to interfere and demand their rescue.

It is his business also to receive foreign ambassadors when they come to London, and to choose the ambassadors who represent our King at foreign Courts. A great deal will depend on whether he is a good judge of

character and ability, for an ambassador is an important person, since it is his duty to explain the actions of his Government at home to the Government of the land in whose capital he is living. If he is wise and tactful he will help to uphold peacefully the honour and dignity of his land, but if he is rash and careless he may plunge his country into an unnecessary war. Directly war is declared between two lands the ambassadors on either side are recalled, and this is the sign that all hope of peace is at an end.

Before there were railways and telegraphs ambassadors held an even more difficult position than they hold to-day, for they were often months without hearing from their Governments at home, and had to make far-reaching decisions on their own responsibility. Nowadays, however, they can receive advice from home in a few hours or days at the most.

If it is necessary to maintain a good understanding between England and foreign countries, it is still more important to strengthen the bond between the mother country and her colonies, and this is the business of the Colonial Secretary and the office under his control. It rests with him to advise the King whether or not to interfere with the laws that are passed in the self-governing colonies, and every official sent out to a responsible post in that "Greater Britain beyond the seas" will look to him for support and sympathy in the critical work before him.

"Let us hear as little of you as possible," was the rough good-bye of a minister at home to a colonial governor in the old days when the colonies were

regarded by statesmen merely as a burden. We have changed our minds since then, and have learnt that our colonies are both our glory and our responsibility, and one outcome of this new knowledge has been the foundation of our Colonial Office.

Sometimes, in a new land where the settlers are of different races, the white man of one nation is apt to quarrel with the white man of another, or to oppress the natives he has found in possession, and then it is that the Government of the mother country must interfere and hold a just balance between the European races and between white and black :

Giving to friends and foes . . .

Liberty, justice, wealth: the arts and the trade of the
white man,

Mercy and truth to the black, quiet abundance for all ;

This is our lesson of life and that is the bond of our empire.

One portion of our Empire is so large and so important that it has a department of Government entirely to itself. The Secretary of State for India is responsible for the good government of that wonderful land. He is assisted by a Council consisting of men who have special knowledge of India and its people, and he works hand-in-hand with the Viceroy, the nobleman who is sent to India to represent the King-emperor there.

The affairs of the mother country are under the charge of the Home Secretary. It would be nearly impossible to mention all the things for which the Home Secretary is responsible, they are so many and various ; but perhaps his chief duty is that of advising the King to give a special pardon to some criminal condemned to death

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or imprisonment. Of course this is a power he does not often exercise, since it is a grave matter to set aside the decision of a judge and jury after a fair trial. People are not sentenced to death or imprisonment unless, when their case is tried, there is a very certain conviction of their guilt ; and the Home Secretary, when



Government Buildings, Whitehall.

he advises that some condemned man or woman should be pardoned, is probably acting on special evidence that has come to his ears since the trial.

Besides this power of pardoning criminals, the Home Secretary is responsible for the state of prisons and reformatories. He controls the police, and appoints the inspectors who visit factories and mines to see that their condition is as safe and healthy as possible. These are only a few of his numerous duties.

He would have a great deal more work besides if it were not for other Government offices: such as the Board of Trade, which carries out the laws concerned with our national commerce; the Education Office, which provides school-inspectors and settles what shall be taught in Government schools; and the Local Government Board, which controls and supervises the work of all the local Councils in parish, district, and county.

Another Government office, with whose work we come into contact daily all over the British Isles, is the Post Office. In old days it was so expensive to send letters that very few people were able to do it, and all sorts of frauds were contrived so that poor men and women could hear news of their distant relations and friends. Formerly it was not the person who sent the letter, but the one who received it, who had to pay the postage; and there is a tale that a postman used to bring an envelope regularly once a month to an old woman at her cottage door, and that she used as regularly to refuse to take it, saying she had no money.

"I will buy it for you," said a benevolent onlooker one day, and though the old woman shook her head and seemed very unwilling for him to do so, he paid the money for it and gave her the letter. When the postman was out of sight her reluctance was explained, for she opened the envelope and showed a blank piece of paper inside. "It's my boy in foreign parts," she said; "he knows I can't afford to pay for the letter, and so he sends me this envelope, and when I see it in the postman's hands I can tell he's still alive and well."

We should find an empty envelope from one of our

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relatives very poor comfort to-day, and that we are able to have several sheets of closely-written news instead is largely due to a certain Sir Rowland Hill. Sir Rowland Hill was quite convinced that anybody ought to be able to send a letter anywhere in the British Isles for a penny, and he talked and argued in Parliament till in 1840 he persuaded other members to think the same. To-day we have made still further progress, for letters can travel, not only in the British Isles but from one end of the Empire to another, at no greater cost than a penny stamp.

But besides drawing relations and friends in distant parts of the world together and assisting trade, cheap postage has also benefited the nation in another way. Every year many thousand million letters, parcels, and postal orders pass through the Post Offices and travel by rail and ship. The money which is spent on them not only pays for their carriage, but also helps to fill the coffers of the Government office called the Treasury.

Have you ever been inside the counting-house of a large shop, and noticed the men seated at tall desks, adding up rows of figures and receipting the bills which customers are opening their purses to pay? Well, the Treasury is something like a counting-house on a very big scale. It gathers together all the national money that is collected by taxes or in other ways, and allots so much to this national expense and so much to that.

The chief official connected with the Treasury is called the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he is also the most important member of the Government party in the House of Commons next to the Prime Minister. Later,

when we learn how the expenses of government are met, we shall hear more about the Chancellor of the Exchequer ; but first we must find out how obedience to our laws is enforced, and what some of those laws are that we owe to the work of Parliament and the Civil Service.

Chapter VII

How the Laws are Enforced

THERE are three stages in the establishment of a system of good laws. Two we have already seen : that laws must be made and put into practice ; but they must also be obeyed as a matter of habit. If people only obeyed the laws when they chose, all the work of Parliament and the Civil Service would count for nothing.

For example, it is a rule in this country that carts, bicycles, and motors must keep to the left side of the road, and this prevents many accidents and collisions in crowded streets or along country lanes with dangerous turnings. Now if a number of people were determined to keep to the right-hand side, and there was no power to compel them to cross to the left, this rule would not be of the least use.

So, in more important matters, the laws must be obeyed by everybody ; and any Government of which its citizens can be proud will take care that those who defy its authority are punished, whoever they may be. It is clear that we must have somebody whose duty it is to see that the laws are obeyed, and this is given to

judges, magistrates, and other officials. The Lord Chancellor is the chief judge; the other judges are appointed by the King on his advice. He also appoints the magistrates.

There are two kinds of laws, known as Common Law and Statute Law. Common Law has to do with simple questions of right and wrong; it is not written down, but depends on the decisions of judges for hundreds of years past. Murder, theft, violence, and other crimes against persons come under the Common Law. Statute Law includes all the laws passed by Parliament. It is a statute law, for instance, that miners must not work underground for more than eight hours a day. This is not a matter of right or wrong: nobody can say that it is wrong for a man to work as many hours as he pleases. But it was thought by Parliament that eight hours was long enough for any man to toil in heat and darkness underground, and a law was passed forbidding him to work any longer. All laws, whether Common Law or Statute Law, have to be obeyed; a person who steals is punished, and if a man works in a mine for more than eight hours, somebody will suffer for it.

It has long been our boast that in the eyes of the law all people are equal; that everybody, rich or poor, great or small, must obey the law, and will be punished if he disobeys. There is an interesting story that illustrates this.

Many hundreds of years ago the heir to the English throne, Prince Henry of Wales, was a wild young man who liked to roam the London streets at night, frightening peaceful citizens and often coming to blows with

those who objected to his pranks. It so happened that in one of these brawls a friend of his was captured and led before a judge called Gascoigne. Prince Henry, angry that any one should have dared to arrest his follower, forced his way, sword in hand, into the judge's presence and demanded the prisoner's immediate release.

"I have found him guilty; he must go to prison," answered the judge quietly.

The young prince, furious at this obstinacy, broke into a volley of abuse, whereupon Gascoigne immediately ordered that he also should be arrested for daring to insult one of the royal judges, and to prison Prince Henry had to go.

When the king was told of what had befallen his son, being a wise man, he was pleased. "I am happy," he said, "to possess a judge so resolute in the discharge of his duty."

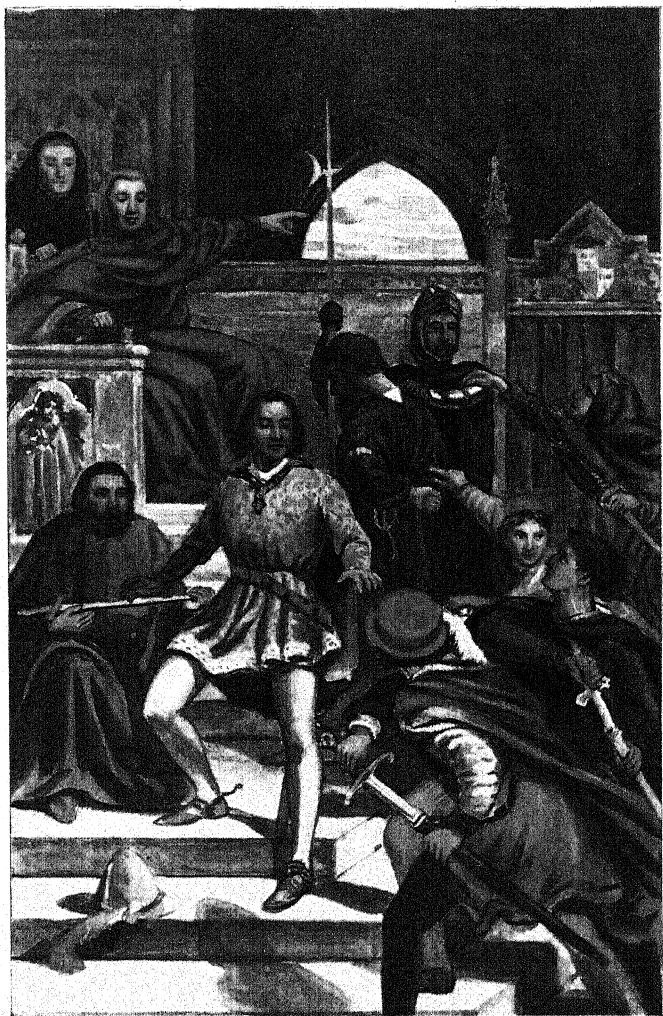
We are glad to know that Prince Henry himself bore Gascoigne no ill-will, but when he came to the throne recognized the old judge's courage and honesty at their true worth.

Long ago there were no judges at all, and when people quarrelled they were left to settle the matter amongst themselves as best they could.

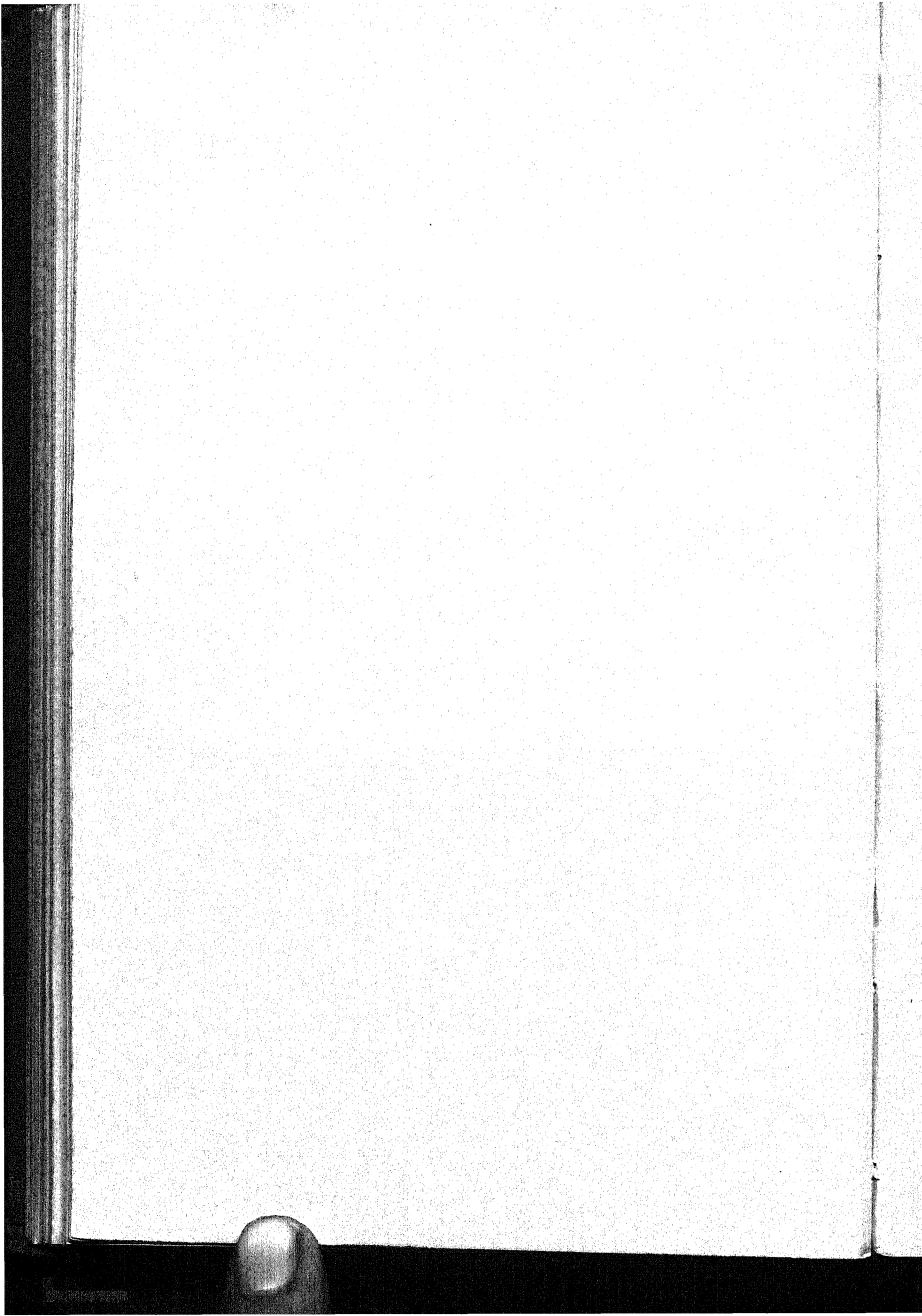
"This piece of land is mine," one man would say, and perhaps his neighbour would answer:

"Not at all; it belongs to me!" The one of the two who kept it in the end would have his way, not because he was in the right, but because he was a good fighter and had powerful friends.

To-day if two people dispute about a piece of land or



PRINCE HENRY ACKNOWLEDGING THE AUTHORITY OF JUDGE
GASCOIGN.



any other property they take the question before a judge in a court of law, and it is there decided peacefully and impartially. Such disputes are known as "civil" cases to distinguish them from "criminal" cases, where some crime like murder or theft has been committed for which it is necessary to find the guilty man and punish him.



A Judge.

The principal law courts are in London, where the judges sit day after day to hear the cases brought before them. There all great civil cases are decided ; but the judges also move about the country at different times to decide criminal cases. They go to hold "assizes," a word which means "sittings."

When a judge travels about the country for this purpose, he is received with every sign of honour and deference, and whenever he enters a court of law the

men who are present rise and take off their hats. This respect is paid him because a judge in his robes and powdered wig represents the law, and in honouring him the people present are honouring the law. If our judges ceased to be honoured and their judgements to be obeyed, it would mean that the people of this land were weak and feeble, and every other nation would despise them and laugh at them.

As the judges have always a number of difficult cases to try, much of the less important work that would otherwise fall to their share is done by local magistrates. These are sometimes paid for their services, as in London, where owing to the size of the population their duties take the whole of their time ; but usually in the country districts the magistrates do their work without payment.

If a man is arrested for making a disturbance in the street his case will be decided by a local magistrate ; or if the offence is more serious, and the prisoner is accused of having robbed some one of a stocking filled with money, or some other property, it is the magistrate again who will decide if there is sufficient evidence against him to send him to trial before a judge, or if he may be released.

And now we must notice an important point in English law, "Every one is considered innocent until he has been proved guilty." That is to say, if a man has been arrested for stealing a stockingful of money, he may be put in prison to keep him from disappearing altogether, but even if the stocking is found in his pocket he cannot be sent to hard labour, or punished in any way, until his guilt has been actually proved.

When he is brought to trial he is given every chance

to clear himself of the accusation made against him. First of all his case is considered by a body of twenty-three men chosen by lot from amongst the ratepayers of the district, and called the grand jury. It is their business, not to declare him either guilty or innocent, but, like the magistrates, to decide whether he may be set free or if the evidence brought against him is sufficient to warrant him being regularly tried at the next Assize. If the grand jury declare that the evidence is sufficient, the prisoner is brought before the judge and placed in "the dock" near at hand.

In the body of the court are several lawyers in their black gowns and curled wigs, some of them prepared to prove the accused man guilty, and others to show his innocence. Those on the one side will declare perhaps that the coins in the stolen stocking were marked with a cross, and that a shilling marked in this way was found in the prisoner's pocket; while those on the other will argue that the tell-tale cross on the shilling was merely an accidental scratch, and that the prisoner at the hour the theft must have been committed was shopping in the market at the nearest town quite a mile away. In order to prove their words the lawyers will call witnesses, that is, people who can give definite first-hand evidence about the case; for no one in a court of law is allowed to quote what a third person thought or said about the matter, but only what he himself may have seen or heard. Each witness, as his name is called, must come forward and either take an oath on the Bible, or else solemnly affirm, that he will "speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth;" for it would be a

shameful thing if an honest man's character were blackened, or a rogue set free to practise more roguery, by means of a witness's careless lie.

The owner of the money will explain exactly how he marked the coins, the policeman who was called in when the theft was discovered how he had found the floor-boards torn up that had hidden the stocking, a woman who sold fruit in the marketplace how the prisoner had asked her the price of apples.

When all the evidence on both sides has been heard, the lawyers speak for and against the accused man; and the moment comes when the fateful question "Guilty or not guilty?" must be answered. Now it is not thought right to make the decision in an important criminal case rest on one man's opinion, and so the judge has a jury of twelve men to help him, and when he has summed up the case and shown the evidence fairly on both sides, it rests with them to give their judgement.

"Guilty or not guilty?" the judge demands, and if the jury answer "Not guilty" the prisoner is released; but if they say "Guilty" the judge must decide what punishment the man shall receive, and this will depend on how serious his offence has been, and whether he has ever been in prison before. There will be a very different sentence for the first offender, who is evidently ashamed and repentant, and for the reckless ne'er-do-well who is always planning some piece of mischief.

When a prisoner has been convicted of crime, and sentenced by the judge, he may ask leave to "appeal;" that is, to have his case considered by other judges. Even the most careful jurymen and judges may some-

times make a mistake ; and if there is the least doubt of the justice of the decision which has been come to, the prisoner may be sure that every point will be carefully considered. There is little chance of an innocent man being unjustly punished. The same right of appeal is enjoyed in civil cases. If, for instance, a man has been condemned to pay a sum of money as damages for breach of contract, he may bring the case before the Court of Appeal, who may reverse the decision of the court below, reduce the amount of damages, or order a new trial. The case may be carried further to the House of Lords, a small committee of which, consisting of the law lords, acts as a final court of appeal.

Youthful offenders are usually tried in a separate court, and those who are found guilty are fined or sent to a reformatory, where they can be taught a trade and given the chance to start an honest life when they leave. This chance is not one they should lightly throw away because they hate having to obey rules.

Sometimes their crime has been the result of a moment's folly or of the influence of bad companions, and those who seize the opportunity to turn over a new leaf can prove they are of the right stuff underneath, and grow up honest, useful British citizens. It is a pleasanter as well as a better kind of life to work honestly than to be for ever dodging the police.

And this mention of "the police" brings us to a branch of our public service that must not be forgotten in a chapter on justice, for the policeman is the judge's right hand. From keeping guard over houses whose owners are away to arresting suspected criminals, he

is continually at work for the public good, seeing that our laws are obeyed and every citizen's private rights respected.

"What did you admire most when you were in



Policeman regulating Traffic at the Mansion House.

London?" a native officer of an Indian regiment was asked on his return from the Coronation, and after a moment's thought he answered, "The policeman in front of the Mansion House directing the traffic."

Out of all the wonderful and interesting sights that

our capital can boast, that which most deeply impressed the stranger was the blue-uniformed figure standing calmly in the midst of a crowd of buses, motors, taxicabs, and hurrying pedestrians, holding up one group and letting pass another by a mere motion of the hand. "It was wonderful," he added, "and I remained there in front of the Mansion House watching the traffic for more than an hour."

We are so used to our police and the way in which they maintain order that it does not occur to us that their work is often marvellous, or that their courage and patience deserve our praise ; yet were we deprived of their assistance even for half a day there is hardly a citizen who would not angrily demand them back, feeling his life and property in possible danger.

It is the policeman, vigilant and alert, who gives confidence to the financier in his office, the manager in his bank, the lady shutting up her house for her summer holiday, the small boy with money in his pocket bound for the sweetshop. Every one with property, whether it be a house or a few coppers, has need of the protection of the law to keep him from being hurt and robbed. Yet few citizens who owe this debt of safety to the police ever remember it, or attempt to repay it if occasion arises.

Some men will "take the law into their own hands," as the saying is, though this is strictly against the law ; but they would stand by idly and watch half a dozen cowardly roughs attack a single constable without moving a step to help him ; and this is a disgrace to our land.

The police are carrying out our laws, and it is our duty to assist them in their work. Indeed, if we neglect to do so we are like a farmer planting seed one day, and allowing the birds to dig it up unmolested the next.

"A silly fool that farmer!" the onlooker would say; but those who go to enormous trouble and expense to make laws and then allow them to be disobeyed are a great deal more foolish.

Chapter VIII

What some of the Laws are

LAWS TO PREVENT ILL-HEALTH.

WE have seen that the statement "Britain is governed *by* the people" is quite true, for it is the representatives chosen *by* the people who are responsible for the way in which our laws are made and carried out.

And Britain is also governed *for* the people; that is to say, her laws, which are passed in Parliament or the local Councils, are made *for* the good of the citizens who will have to obey them. In the case of many of the laws this is quite easy to understand.

We must have an army and navy to defend us from foreign attacks, and laws to provide for their organization and upkeep. We must have laws to protect people and property from aggression, and judges and policemen to see they are obeyed. We must have good roads and

hospitals, street lamps, fire-engines, and all the other many conveniences that mark the difference between a civilized land and some wild backwoods country. These are laws of which at a glance we can see the necessity and importance.

But there are other laws which are just as necessary if men and women are to be wise and healthy citizens, though it is not so easy to recognize their good unless we think about them very carefully. A boy training for a race, besides being careful beforehand not to run any risk that would give him no chance at all, like spraining his ankle, follows certain rules and finds that he learns to run much faster than before. In a few weeks he can easily beat a boy of his own size who has not troubled to train. The results tell him that these rules are good, though at first he thought it foolish to worry about his food and rise early to practise running before breakfast.

It is something the same with a great many national laws. Their results show that they develop fine healthy citizens, though it may be hard at times for those who have to obey them, and find them personally inconvenient, to recognize how necessary they are in fitting people for the world's race.

I want to tell you now of some laws of this kind, directed against enemies that do more harm to men and women every year than either foreign soldiers with guns and swords, or murderers and thieves at home: I mean the three great enemies, sickness, poverty, and ignorance. Every Government in the world has to go to battle with these enemies, and the extent to which it

succeeds in its war will depend on the help and sympathy of the citizens for whom it is fighting.

It was a common belief in old days that sickness was an evil it was impossible to prevent, and there was no attempt made to guard against dirt or the spread of infection. Gradually, however, as men studied medicine and science they learnt, not only cures for diseases which had actually attacked some poor victims, but precautions that could be taken to prevent these diseases spreading. So long as only a man or woman here or there troubled to take these precautions they were of very little use, and that is why our Government to-day interferes and insists that all citizens must obey the laws that are passed to prevent sickness and disease. In this way horrible and dangerous illnesses like leprosy and small-pox have been either entirely stamped out, or made of very rare occurrence in England.

It is the business of the District, Borough, and Town Councils to act as "Sanitary Authorities" for their neighbourhood, and under their directions "Sanitary Inspectors" are sent to inquire into the conditions under which people are living and local trades are being carried on.

"There is hardly any place that the sanitary inspector does not visit." Houses, cellars, yards, workshops, dairies, bakehouses, all are passed in review under his careful eye, and any sign of dirt or bad ventilation or overcrowded rooms will be reported to the Councils, who will take steps to see these things are altered.

Besides the sanitary inspector there is a "Medical Officer" in each district, whose work it is to keep

a register of the worst illnesses in his neighbourhood. There is a law which says that some of the most infectious cases must be reported to him at once by the doctor attending them, so that he can see that measures are adopted to prevent the patient from infecting others.

Now these are occasions where citizens often hinder instead of helping the State, because they do not understand or refuse to recognize how important it is that these health-laws should be obeyed.

The woman living in a crowded street, who conceals the fact that her boy has scarlet fever for fear that he may be taken to an isolation hospital, forgets that every time she or any of the rest of her family go in or out amongst their neighbours they may be spreading a serious disease and risking the lives of others. In the same way the clean honest baker or dairyman, who bitterly resents and tries to stop the visit of a sanitary inspector to his premises, should remember that only by these surprise visits, sometimes to one shop, sometimes to another, can customers be protected from bad loaves or impure milk.

It is not pleasant to be interfered with ; but, if by our laws we are to gain the true happiness of all our citizens, individuals must be prepared to sacrifice their own convenience and dignity to the public good.

I wonder if you have ever heard of the "Heroes of Eyam," men and women of a tiny little Derbyshire village, living their ordinary lives in the field, the cottage, and the workshop, and yet when the test came proving themselves some of the finest citizens the world has ever known.

It was nearly three hundred years ago, before isolation hospitals or sanitary inspectors were heard of, that that terrible illness the plague came to Eyam, carried in a box of patterns sent down from London to a local tailor. Within a few hours of opening the box the tailor fell ill and died, and soon there was scarcely a house in the village without plague-stricken victims or sorrowing



Eyam ; showing (second house on the left) the "Plague House."

mourners. Terror seized the people, and some urged that all who had not yet caught the illness should leave the place ; but their brave-hearted vicar came forward and begged them not to do this.

"In your flight," he said, "you will scatter the seeds of death far and wide. You may not even save yourselves, while if you stay you will at least save others."

His unselfish words fired the hearts of the villagers,

and day and night they kept a watch round Eyam that none struck with sudden cowardice might creep out unseen, carrying the plague with them to distant homes. People from the neighbouring villages would bring presents of food or clothes, and leave them on the stones that marked the outskirts of the place. Then they would hurry off with handkerchiefs soaked in vinegar held across their mouths for fear of infection, and when they had disappeared men from Eyam would come and fetch what they had brought.



Graves of Plague Victims at Eyam.

Thus through a summer and early autumn Eyam remained shut off from the rest of the world, alone with its ever-increasing number of dead and dying, voluntarily keeping infection within its narrow boundaries for the sake of the healthy countryside beyond. To-day when visitors go to Eyam they can see the graves of these heroes scattered about near their houses and farms, and in the churchyard the tomb of Catherine Mompesson, the vicar's young wife, one of the first to suffer from the brave resolve her husband and all his fellow villagers had kept at such a cost.

"Here have been seventy-six families visited within

my parish," wrote the vicar, "out of which died 259 persons."

It is this spirit, which transformed the farm-labourers and workmen of Eyam into heroes, that citizens are in need of now in their struggle against sickness and disease. They may not in all probability be called to such a tremendous sacrifice, but they are called on every day to obey willingly and cheerfully for the sake of themselves and others the health-laws of their land.

Local Councils can provide public baths for those who have no bathrooms in their homes ; they can see that there is a sound system of drainage, and that the rivers from which drinking water is taken are kept clear from the refuse of factories ; they can establish trained nurses and sanitary inspectors in every district ; but this campaign against ill-health will be of little avail without the support of the citizens for whom all this trouble and expense have been undertaken.

There are three weapons put in a citizen's hand to fight disease, and these are fresh air, light, and water. The citizen who opens his windows wide, and is not afraid of the sun, who keeps himself and his home clean, is like a soldier with all his arms well prepared for the battle. So much of our waste of life and health to-day is merely—

All along of dirtiness, all along of mess,
All along of doing things rather more or less.

Chapter IX

What some of the Laws are (*continued*)

LAWS TO PREVENT POVERTY

POVERTY is the second of the three powerful enemies against which a government and its citizens have to fight, and perhaps it is the most difficult of all to conquer; for plans and schemes that work out very well on paper are often in practice not only useless but harmful.

At one time a law was passed that every one who could not find work to do must be supplied with work by the Government, or else be given money to maintain his home so long as he was out of a job. "Soon there will be no poor in England," was the boast of the delighted framers of this scheme, but its results were the exact opposite of what they expected. Instead of growing less the number of poor increased, and the "poor-rate," the tax out of which provision is made for poverty, grew heavier every year. Now why was this law, which seemed at first sight so simple and practical, really a failure?

The reason was that the people who planned it made a mistake at the very beginning. They treated "poverty" as if it were an evil that has only one cause—misfortune. "So-and-So is poor," they argued, "because he is ill, and Some-one-Else because he has had bad luck and lost his job. We will assist those who meet with misfortune, and then every one will be comfortably off."

Now there are other things that cause poverty besides misfortune, such as laziness and want of foresight. It is all very well to provide for the person who through no fault of his own is utterly destitute, but it is a very different thing to give money to the idle rogue, who will only grow lazier the more charity he receives.

Well, the people who framed the law we are talking about made no difference between those who were poor because they had met with misfortune, and those who were poor through their own fault ; and so all the loafers and good-for-nothings came and pretended they wanted to work, and when the Government was unable to find it for them, it had to give them money instead.

“ We don’t have to work,” laughed the idlers ; and their neighbours, since there is nothing so harmful as a bad example, just as there is nothing so helpful as a good one, began to wonder if the idlers were not better off than those who worked hard, and they also would throw up their jobs on some pretext or other, and demand that the Government should help them. Men and women came at last to believe that the nation ought to pay them for the most ordinary duties, and in the Parish Accounts dating from those days there can still be seen such entries as :

To Mary B——, for sitting up at night with her father, 2s.
To Elizabeth W——, a present for her kindness to her mother, 5s.

This state of things could not last ; for the Government, in order to find money for those who were out of work, was forced to increase continually the taxes paid

by those who were supporting themselves, till many of the latter became paupers or were nearly ruined ; and at length the law was abolished. In this way England learnt the lesson that, just as a man's bodily health cannot be cured by over-indulgence, so a national evil like poverty will only be made worse by reckless charity.

Governments to-day, while helping as kindly as possible those who are destitute through no fault of their own, must strive on the other hand to repress sternly laziness and want of forethought. This needs very great care and attention, and so, just as there are " Sanitary Authorities " to deal with disease in the sanitary districts into which England is divided, so there are also Poor-Law Guardians appointed to districts called Unions to try and solve the terrible problem of destitution.

In every Union there is a workhouse where those in the district who are too poor to provide a home for themselves can live, and though at first this building received its name because it was meant to be a house where people could find work, now it is chiefly occupied by old men and women and young children who are not able to work at all. Sometimes it is said that workhouses ought to be more comfortable than they are, but if they were made more comfortable than the ordinary working man's home, lazy people would prefer living there to keeping themselves, and so the old trouble of " thrift providing for spendthrift " would begin again.

Besides workhouses there are infirmaries for the sick ; and every week old men and women over 70 who have less than a certain small sum a year to live on, can go to their nearest Post Office and receive an Old Age

Pension of 5s. from the Postmaster. The Guardians of the Poor will also give a little money week by week to men and women who can partly but not entirely support themselves by their earnings, but it is their duty to make very



Women's Ward in Marylebone Workhouse.

careful inquiries about those they help before they offer this "outdoor relief," as it is called.

The money which the Guardians spend on the poor, whether on workhouses or in the form of "outdoor relief," is the money belonging to the ratepayers in their district, and if they are extravagant and reckless in their

charity industrious ratepayers may have to provide for idlers, who could quite well keep themselves and their families if they were forced to make the effort.

What is really needed for those of the poor who are strong and able-bodied is not charity, but help and encouragement to find them work and fit them to do it well.

"No man should be called poor," said the great statesman Edmund Burke, "who has health or strength to work for his living;" and we have only to look at the lives of many great men, who have raised themselves to power and prosperity by grit and energy, to know that this is true. There are millionaires who began life as pedlars, statesmen who can proudly boast that their first job was in a warehouse or as errand boy, and though we may not all of us be so successful we can most of us go a certain length of the way. We can fight poverty with that strongest of all weapons, our own thrift. It is the man that puts by money and saves when work is plentiful and health is good, who will keep out of the workhouse and have no need to borrow from his neighbours in time of distress. He will be prepared for whatever may come.

Do you remember the fairy story of the three little pigs who were warned by their mother, when she was dying, against their old enemy the wolf who lived in a neighbouring wood? "Be prepared," she said, "for when I am not here to look after you the wolf will come and try to eat you. Build yourselves strong houses so that he cannot climb in one night when you are asleep."

Of course they all promised, but two of them forgot. One built himself a house of mud, because he was dirty and lazy and it took little trouble, and the other built himself a house of cabbages because he was greedy and could only think of things to eat. When the wolf came he tore down the mud walls with his strong claws, and pushed his nose through the cabbages, and so had two little pigs for dinner. But the third pig had worked hard and built himself a house of brick, and when the wolf came along he could find no way in. There is even a fine end to the story, that the wolf climbed on to the roof, and that as he was looking down the chimney he fell in, and on the fire below there was a large pot in which he landed and was cooked.

I think we could find the counterpart of all these pigs in our own human world to-day. There is the man who is too lazy to work, and the man who greedily spends all his earnings instead of saving them, and both these fall victims to the wolf "Poverty" when he is on the prowl looking for prey; while the man who has worked and saved can afford to laugh at his enemy from behind his securely barred door.

"I can't think how you get along this cold weather," grumbled a labourer to his fellow-villager one winter day. "You're out of a job same as I am, and where you find the money to live on I don't know."

"Well, I had a good bit extra at harvest time when I helped with Farmer Brown's crops," said the other; "it's coming in very handy now."

The first man grunted angrily, for he had nothing to say. He also had received harvest-money from Farmer

Brown in the autumn, but he had spent it at once without a thought of the cold winter months before him, when work would be scarce and food dear.

In old days the only way in which a person could save his earnings was to collect them in a bag and hide them somewhere in his house, but there was always the danger they might be found and stolen. Nowadays a man can put his money into a Post Office or bank, which will pay him a certain sum a year called "in-

Name of Depositor						Name of Depositor	
Postage Stamps for a Deposit of One Shilling in the Post Office Savings Bank.							
12 Penny Stamps to be affixed below.							
						Signature of Depositor	
						Office of Issue	
						No. of Book	
						Post Office Savings Card	

Post Office Savings Card.

terest" for leave to make use of it. If he allows it to stay there for twenty years, he will find when he comes to take it out that he has nearly twice as much as he first put in.

You will see then that it pays to save, and children who wish to do so need not wait till they are grown up. They can begin at once with some of the pennies they earn for odd messages, or that their father and mother give them every week as pocket-money for sweets. When they take this money to the Post Office they will be handed a slip of paper divided up into twelve squares,

and for every penny they bring, a penny stamp will be placed on one of the squares. As soon as all the twelve squares are full, they will know they have saved a shilling, which will be kept for them in the Post Office ; and others will be added to it as they gradually fill in more squares with penny stamps. In this way, when the time comes for them to leave school, the boys or girls who have saved their pennies will find a nice round sum waiting for them, with which they can help to buy themselves tools or clothes, or whatever they need to start them in their grown-up life in the world.

There is a part of the Scout Law which runs "The Scout is thrifty," and this is closely connected with the great Scout motto, "Be prepared," or "Look out," which should be the motto of every British citizen, young or old :

There's just one law for the Scout,
And the first and the last and the present and the past
And the future and the perfect is "Look out !"

Chapter X

What some of the Laws are (*continued*)

LAWS TO PREVENT IGNORANCE.

THERE is another way besides "thrift" in which citizens can "be prepared," and that is by guarding themselves against the third great national enemy, "ignorance," which is often at the root of both sickness and poverty.

A missionary doctor in Africa was once called to a native hut to see a small patient. He had been told it was a case of fever, but when he arrived he found the child was also badly burnt. The mother, when questioned by him, burst out crying :

"I burnt him," she said, "to drive the evil spirit out of him that gave him the fever."

This mother was devoted to her child, but her ignorance nearly cost his life; and we could find only too many similar instances in our own civilized land to-day. It is ignorance which sends the small boy or girl just recovering from measles out of a warm room into a damp and windy street, or that feeds the six-months-old baby with gin and lumps of meat he cannot possibly digest.

It is ignorance again which causes much of our present poverty, for amongst the unemployed are numbers of men and women who are unable to work, except at odd jobs, simply because they don't know how. They have never learnt to put their minds or hands to any practical use.

We know that if a man were to lie in bed for several years and afterwards try to walk, he would find his muscles so flabby that he could hardly stand on his feet; and this shows that our limbs and brains are like pieces of machinery, they grow rusty if they are allowed to lie idle. It is only through constant practice that they will work smoothly and easily; and the name we give to this practice which will develop our abilities to their fullest extent is "education." In old times education was a matter of money, and belonged only

to those who wished and were willing to pay for it ; but nowadays it is thought so important that it is the aim of our laws to bring it within easy reach of every citizen.

All over the country there is a network of schools, some of them provided for by the County Councils out of a local tax called the "education rate," and others paid for out of private funds. Every boy and girl over five years old must go to one of these schools, unless there is some good reason against it that will satisfy the school-inspector.

This is a very great change, and no doubt there are children to whom the old way will seem best, children who think it a waste of time to go to school, and who would prefer to stay at home and help their mothers, or else begin to earn some money on their own account. Before we make up our minds too rashly, let us look and see what school and education really mean.

To begin with, in many of the schools there are openings which, if a clever hardworking boy can reach them, will make a very great difference in his life. There are scholarships and exhibitions to be won that will take the successful candidate on to more advanced schools, where higher things are taught, and these in their turn may lead to one of the Universities and an after-career as lawyer, clergyman, or doctor.

In the same way there are openings for clever girls.

Now of course only a few of those who go to school can win scholarships or exhibitions, but this doesn't mean that all the hours the others spend in their classrooms or playgrounds are a waste of time. They may

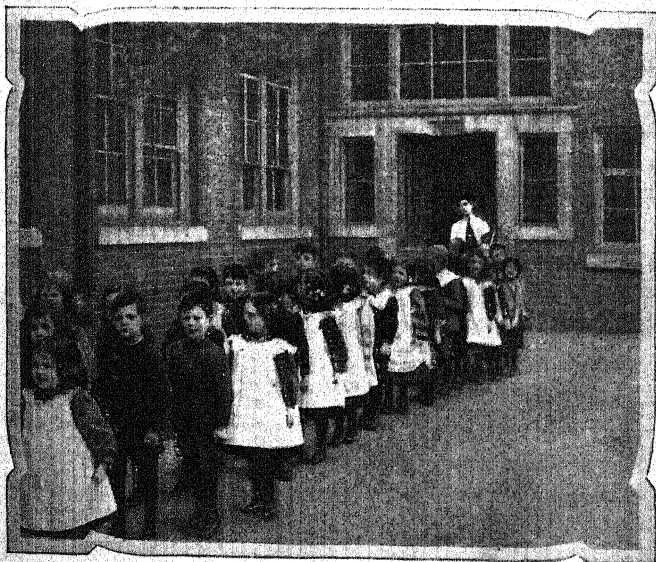
be, indeed; and here we come to the most important fact about schools—that whether they are useful or not depends almost entirely on the children who go to them. There are boys and girls who have spent nine or ten years at school, and finally left it even more incapable of helping themselves than when they went there, simply because they didn't choose to make use of their opportunities, but tried to learn as little as they could. For them, indeed, "schooling" was a waste of time, but only part and parcel of that long and hopeless waste of a whole life spent in trying to avoid hard work and responsibility.

The boy who learns to read and write with ease, to add and subtract quickly, and who knows something about the history and geography of the world in the past, and what is happening there to-day, will stand a better chance of finding a good job when he grows up than his school-fellow who bungles over a column of £ s. d., and believes that New York is in Asia and the nearest large country town to his home the capital of England. Yet this bookwork, and even the other kind of manual work like gardening or sewing, is only a part of what children can learn at school. There are other kinds of knowledge just as important—tidiness, politeness, fair play, good temper, obedience; and these virtues, whatever boys or girls may be inclined to think, count for a great deal in life.

"What made you pick So-and-So for your office-boy out of the twenty lads who came to see you about the place?" a man was once asked. "Well," he answered, "it was a rainy day, and So-and-So was the only one out

of them all that wiped his feet on the mat as he came in, and I said to myself at once 'that boy knows what tidiness means. I'll have him.'

For the value of obedience we have only to look at the strength and power of a well-disciplined army ; but



A Fire at School.

there was a case worth remembering that occurred in an infants' school not so long ago. The building caught fire, and as the flames shot up there were cries of fear and panic on all sides.

"Fall into line, children," called out the Head-Mistress, and accustomed to do what she told them, they all

obeyed and marched out calmly and quickly, one behind the other, down the narrow passage into safety.

"A near thing," said one of the teachers afterwards ; "if they hadn't done at once what they were told we'd never have got them all out in time."

And if obedience and tidiness have their value in life, so we know have politeness, good temper, and honesty ; and it is at school, where children work and play together, that they have a chance of learning all these things. If they are inattentive, or irregular and unpunctual in their attendance, they are losing one of the chief opportunities for helping themselves that our law-givers have struggled to give them. And besides harming themselves, these boys and girls who stay at home or don't try to work are doing harm to others, and especially to those who are in their school. When a child gains a success, whether in books or games, it will be remembered what school he attends, and when his name is mentioned the school will say proudly, "Oh ! he belongs to us." Just in the same way failure and disgrace will be remembered against the school and do it harm. We should be proud of our school, because we belong to it and owe it so much.

We'll honour yet the school we knew,

The best school of all :

We'll honour yet the rule we knew

Till the last bell call.

For, working days or holidays,

And glad or melancholy days,

They were great days and jolly days

At the best school of all.

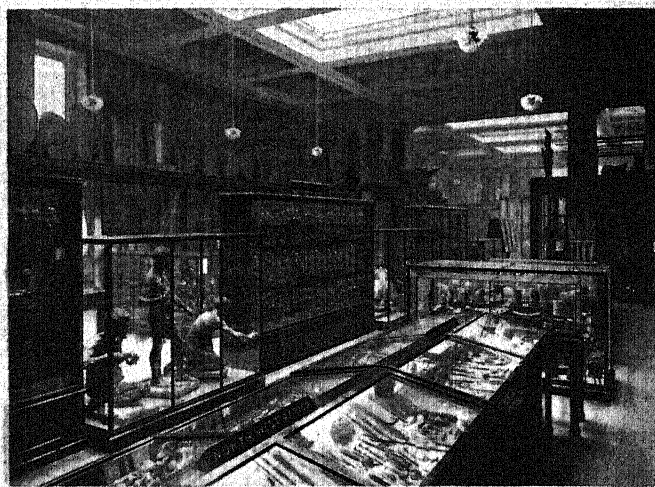
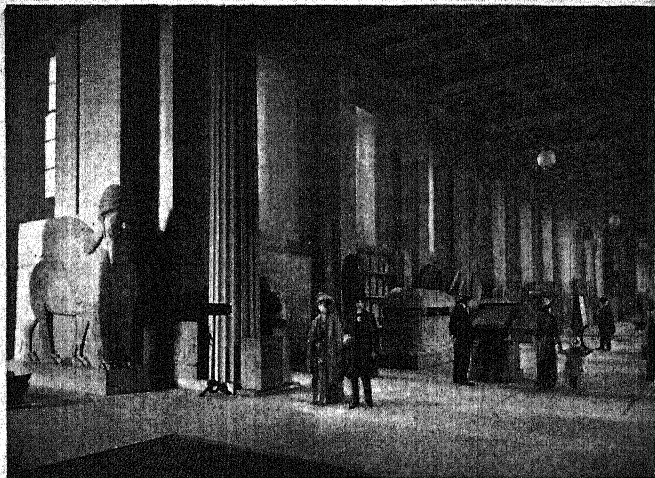
When boys and girls leave school they must not think that their education is ended, like the Oxford undergraduate who began his farewell speech to his tutor :

“Having completed my education . . . ”

“Completed your education, sir?” broke in the old tutor angrily ; “for my part I am only beginning mine.”

Education is like a tall building, always growing higher and higher, and the years at school are the time when the foundations are laid on which all the rest will be built. The boy who has just left school generally finds there is a great deal still to be learnt before he can succeed in his business, and so perhaps he will become an apprentice, and bind himself over for a number of years to be taught a trade. If he lives in London or one of our large towns, he may attend continuation schools, Technical Schools as they are called, where there are classes in all kinds of practical knowledge like science, drawing, metal-work, or foreign languages. In this way his education will go on, and the harder he works the more practised will grow his eye and hand, and the less power will the national enemy, ignorance, have to hurt him.

Yet even when he is a grown man, with perhaps a prosperous business, he must not think that his education is ended, for education is lifelong. It is because we realize this to-day that there are Public Libraries, Museums, and Picture Galleries in all our large towns, where people can go and learn from reading the books written by wise men, and studying wonderful objects from all parts of the world.



British Museum: Egyptian and Ethnographical Galleries.

Sometimes these large cool rooms are nearly empty, and there are hundreds and even thousands of men and women in London who have never been inside the walls of the British Museum or the National Gallery.

"Pictures and mummies are not in my line," is the usual excuse, which is generally another way of expressing the speaker's contempt for something he does not understand. It is like the small boy looking at an engine for the first time, and because he didn't know how it worked remarking, "That's a silly sort of thing."

I wonder if the people in the streets, who hurry past Museums and Picture Galleries without a thought of entering, ever ask themselves why their town or nation has raised these buildings, and filled them with the costly treasures of art and past civilizations. Perhaps if they thought for a little they would set more store by what at present they do not take the trouble to appreciate.

They would realize that, just as education at school used to be a question of money, and to belong only to those who could pay for it, so used all the beautiful and wonderful works provided by the genius of past generations. Nowadays our laws are endeavouring to bring all these means of knowledge within the reach of every citizen, rich or poor, who will open his eyes to see and his ears to hear.

Chapter XI

How the Laws are Paid for

TAXATION.

I TOLD you in an earlier chapter that later on you would hear more about that important minister the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, besides being one of the principal members of the Government, has also a seat in the House of Commons. Every year all the different Government offices draw up lists of what they calculate their expenses will be in the coming year, and then send these "Estimates," as they are called, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

It is his duty to look through the estimates very carefully, to see if anything has been omitted, or if some of the expenditure can be reduced. When he has thoroughly revised the estimates, he must next decide how the money needed to meet them can be provided most easily. Having written down his suggestions and added to them an account of last year's expenditure, he must read this "Budget," as it is called, in the House of Commons, and there it will be discussed and voted on just as if it were an ordinary bill. If the budget is accepted by Parliament it becomes law, and it is the duty of every citizen to obey it like any other law that is passed in this way.

Now let us think for a few minutes how this money is obtained which is collected in the Treasury to pay for the making and carrying out of our laws. In the

first place, the Chancellor can use the "Crown Revenues;" that is to say, the money that comes from the King's private lands, and also the revenues of the Post Office which we have already mentioned. These amount to millions of pounds a year; but this is only a small part of the many millions that are still required, and the bulk of the national expenses has to be met in some other way.

It is only just that the man or woman who benefits by the laws should contribute something, if it is possible, towards their cost, and this something we know by the name of "Rates and Taxes." Rates are a local tax; that is to say, they are sums of money demanded, not by Parliament, but by the various local Councils to pay for the needs of their special neighbourhoods. It would not be fair to ask Londoners to provide a new Town Hall in one of the northern cities, or for Manchester to be taxed for an addition to the London public baths; and so we find that London rates are paid by Londoners, and Manchester rates by the people who live in that town.

I have told you already who the ratepayers are, and also that it depends on their choice of wise or foolish Councillors what value they will receive in return for their money. What is also important to remember is that it is not only the actual ratepayer who will suffer if his County or District Council is unnecessarily extravagant. Others in the neighbourhood will suffer also.

Sometimes there is a row of houses, none of whose tenants contribute anything directly towards the rates, since the money demanded by the local Councils is paid

by their landlord instead. If, however, one of the tenants were to say to himself, "It doesn't matter to me how heavy the rates are," he would soon find out his mistake when they began to rise. He must remember that the landlord is letting his house at a price which will give him a profit, and if the rates are raised, the landlord will have to increase his rent to make it worth his while to let the house at all. Thus his tenant will have to leave, or else to pay the rates indirectly in the form of increased rent.

In the same way people who go to shops will have to pay a higher price for their goods, since the shopman must earn more to pay his rates and make his profit; and so we see that high rates are a burden that will fall on every one.

This is one side of the matter; but we must turn and look at the other side before we leave the question of rates altogether.

If it is bad to have "rates" that are spent on unnecessary things, such as billiard tables for the officers at a workhouse, it is equally bad to have very low rates at the price of inferior work or neglected public interests. We do not want to go in municipal trams that are always breaking down because no one will pay for a sufficient plant of electricity, nor to ruin our carts and tire our horses to death on bad roads that need a thorough remaking. If we want good laws we must pay for them; and if we use public trams and roads, we have no right to grumble at the rate-collector, when he calls from house to house with his notebook and pencil to collect what we owe.

"I should think I was the most unpopular man in the whole town," a rate-collector once complained. "In some of the streets to which I go, the women shake their fists at me, and the men slam the doors in my face. It isn't as if it was my fault either. I'm only obeying orders and doing my work."



Rate-collector.

If these men and women, instead of losing their tempers, had paused to think the matter over, they would have seen that the rate-collector was right. He is only a public officer carrying out the laws for his district; and since "each for all" is the principle of our taxation, every one who makes use of public water, roads, trams, or whatever it may be, must pay his share or expect to be summoned to the nearest police court, and there forced to obey the laws.

But besides local expenses that must be borne by each neighbourhood according to its needs, there are other expenses that should fall on the whole nation; such, for instance, as the maintenance of the army and navy to defend our Empire, or the provision of Old Age Pensions, for these are things that affect not only certain districts, but the entire land. And just as local needs are met by "rates," so national needs are met by "taxes," which are suggested and settled

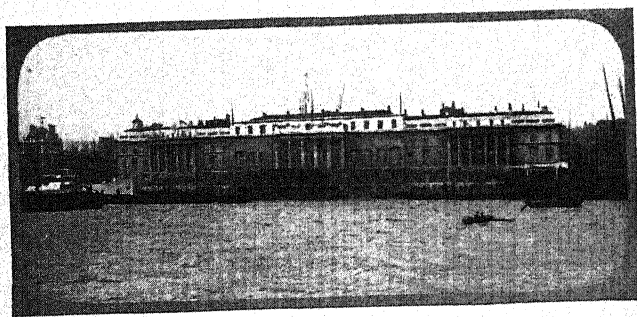
every year in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Budget.

These taxes may be direct taxes like rates; that is to say, though they are not actually collected by a man with a notebook going from door to door, but are sent through the post instead, yet they are definite sums of money which people must hand over to the Government according to the extent of their property. Anybody with an "income," that is to say, with money "coming in," of over £160 a year, must pay a tax of so many pence out of every pound he receives beyond that sum, and this is called an "income-tax."

Other direct taxes are the sums of money which men and women pay in return for leave to keep carriages or dogs, or to dress their servants in livery; but there is a special arrangement by which the carts that a man employs in his daily business, or dogs like sheep-dogs that work for their master's living, are not taxed at all. You will see from the examples I have taken that "direct taxes" are not usually paid by the whole nation, but only by that part which possesses over a certain amount of money. In this way they differ from "indirect taxes," that are paid by nearly everybody.

Whenever a cargo of tea or tobacco is landed in England from abroad, the merchant who brings it has to hand over to the Government so many pence for every pound of his cargo, and as there are many millions of pounds of those goods landed each year in the British Isles, this tax amounts to a great deal. Yet it is not

the merchant who really pays it, for when he sells his tea or tobacco he will demand a price that will cover all his expenses, including the Government tax. Thus it is the people who buy the tea and tobacco, and consume them in their own homes, who pay the tax ; but, since they pay it indirectly and the whole amount is divided amongst a great number of them, single purchasers scarcely feel the burden, and often have no idea they are being taxed at all.



Custom House, where London Shipping pays its Taxes.

Other things that are taxed indirectly are wine and spirits, and it is quite right that these should be taxed heavily, for they are not necessities of life like bread or water, but luxuries which, if indulged in too freely, may ruin a man or woman's whole life and the comfort and happiness of those dependent on them. This example will show us one of the differences between good and bad taxation.

It is bad to tax the necessities of life without which people cannot be strong and healthy, but it is a very

different matter to put a tax on selfish or vicious tastes. Many years ago there used to be a foolish tax on windows, foolish because it forced the people who could not afford to pay it to brick up several of their windows, and shut out the sun and air that should have free access into every home. No Chancellor of the Exchequer would ever think of suggesting such a tax nowadays.

Another difference between good and bad taxation depends on whether a tax is just, or whether it weighs too heavily on one class or trade at the expense of another. People of all classes and trades are citizens of the Empire, and all expect to receive fair treatment from their Government. At one time there were very heavy taxes in France that were paid almost entirely by the French peasants, who had no land of their own, and scarcely any property from which to meet the crushing burden ; while the nobles and merchants were scarcely taxed at all. This was very unjust, but on the other hand it would also have been unjust to have laid all the taxes on either the nobles' land or the merchants' trade. A very heavy tax on bricks, for instance, would mean that men would be discouraged from building houses, and architects, builders, and bricklayers would soon be out of work.

Taxation must be just, and it must also rest as lightly as possible on the nation ; that is to say, it must not cost a great deal to collect, nor put the taxpayers and collectors to infinite trouble or expense. It has sometimes been proposed that there should be a tax on cats, but the idea was given up because it was realized

how difficult it would be to discover every cat's rightful owner, since most cats seem to spend their time on their neighbour's garden-walls or roofs ; and there have been many other suggestions rejected as equally impossible to put into practice.

Now if we know the difference between good and bad taxation, we must remember that it rests with the majority of taxpayers which of the two they will have ; for taxes, as we have seen, are proposed in the Budget every year, and voted on by members of Parliament who have been chosen by the people. It rests with the people of England then to see that the taxation that pays for their laws is both wise and just.

Chapter XII

Why the Laws should be Obeyed

YOU have heard what some of the laws of our land are, and how they are made, carried out, and paid for. Now I want you to understand clearly why every citizen ought to obey them. No doubt you remember one or two reasons I have mentioned already. There is the slavish reason of the man who looks no farther in his daily life than the horse he drives to market every morning :

“ I obey because I must.”

This is one reason, the worst and lowest, but a degree better than the stupidity of the person who is for ever

Why the Laws should be Obeyed 101

trying to defy authority, and is in consequence a continual trouble and menace to his peaceful neighbours.

Then there is the reason of the shrewd hard-headed man of business:

"I obey the laws because it is to my advantage to do so."

He sees that when he gives his vote at a local council or parliamentary election, the laws that are made by that Council or Parliament become part of his own handiwork, and in deliberately breaking them he would be like the mythical gentleman who "cut off his nose to spite his face." He realizes also the good that the laws do him, and is willing to pay the necessary price for his own protection and comfort, whether for trams, the Post Office, sanitary authorities, the police, or a strong army and navy; and this is the attitude towards public affairs of a great many citizens to-day. Yet if their view has no wider and less selfish outlook, they have missed the chief and best reason for obedience to our laws: the reason that to obey them is a duty that we owe to our country.

Now duty is a hard word, and a great many people try to believe they can neglect and leave it out of their lives altogether, forgetting that through others doing their duty in the past they themselves possess rights and privileges to-day, on which all their happiness and prosperity depend.

It was at Runnymede, by the banks of the Thames, many hundreds of years ago, that Englishmen, sword in hand, won from the bad King John an acknowledgement of the right of every man accused of crime to receive

a fair trial, and not to be put in prison without cause. John threw himself on the floor and wept with rage, biting the rushes that formed the carpet of the room, when he was told of his subjects' demands; for before that time he had imprisoned men as he pleased, starving some to death and torturing others, out of anger, or to force them to give him money.

"Why do they not ask for my kingdom?" he cried; but in the end he could not face those naked swords, and, trembling with fury, set his seal upon the sheet of parchment laid before him.

"To none will we sell, to none will we deny, to none will we delay right and justice."

There the words stand in the Great Charter that is the foundation of our national freedom to-day, part of the debt that every British citizen owes to his countrymen in the past; for on that Great Charter has been built up gradually by generations of statesmen the national liberty of life and property we hold so dear.

There is another liberty that has also been won for us through centuries of toil and persecution—the liberty to worship God in the way each man's conscience tells him is right. In old days it was very different. Men thought that God could only be worshipped in one way, whatever in fact their own way happened to be. They believed that those who disagreed with them must be wicked and worthless, and that they ought to be punished by fines, imprisonment, or even death unless they would consent to give up their opinions. Roman Catholics blindly persecuted Protestants, and Protestants in their turn persecuted Roman Catholics, and thus the lives of

hundreds of good men and women were sacrificed for conscience' sake.

Yet these men and women did not die in vain, for each heroic end impressed itself on the minds and hearts of those who stood by and watched, or heard it graphically described by others; and gradually, out of the darkness and chaos of persecution, dawned the shining ideal that man's freedom of soul is as precious as his freedom of body.

It was by the sword and the sacrifice of life that our freedom was won in the past, but the very fact that it has been won has given us to-day a new weapon no less powerful to gain our ends, but without such a cost to the nation. We are forbidden to take the law into our own hands, but we may safeguard it or amend it by the means the law itself has given us, and that has been the method of all great modern reformers.

Sir Rowland Hill did not go about with a drawn sword to demand "Penny Postage," but instead he spoke to the nation of his scheme, in Parliament and out; and slowly, vote by vote, he won his countrymen to his way of thinking. It was the same with Lord Shaftesbury, "the children's friend," as he has been affectionately called.

Lord Shaftesbury, or Lord Ashley as he was then, knew that there were children working in mines all over England, boys and girls, some of them little more than four years old, who spent their lives toiling from early morning till after it was dark, far below the surface of the earth. Nearly seventy hours a week some of them laboured, dragging heavy trucks of coal behind them as

they crawled on their knees down the narrow passages that led from one part of the mine to the other. Every here and there was a door to be opened, with some small stunted child crouched beside it ready to let the trucks through, and then sit terrified and lonely in the darkness



Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury (after Millais).

till another truck appeared, passed him, and disappeared again into the black distance beyond.

And it was not only in the mines that children suffered, but in factories and mills, or too often as apprentices to some cruel master. I wonder how many of you have read the *Water Babies*? I am sure those who have will never forget the terror of poor little half-starved Tom

Why the Laws should be Obeyed 105

at being forced up a chimney to clean it. Yet not long ago there were many small lads who had to work like Tom, climbing narrow chimneys choked with soot, where they nearly died of suffocation before they had finished their task.

But the young, young children, O my brothers,
They are weeping bitterly !
They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
In the country of the free.

Lord Shaftesbury urged in Parliament that in future no boy or girl under ten should be employed in mines, and those over ten only for a certain number of hours.

"You may this night," he said, "by a cheap and harmless vote invigorate the hearts of thousands of your country people, enable them to walk erect in newness of life and to enter on the enjoyment of their freedom."

The bill was passed, and hundreds of little children were set free from the prison-house where they had toiled till health and hope and joy alike were lost.

Just think for a minute how different it would have been if Lord Shaftesbury had taken the view of the selfish hard-headed man of business—"the only laws worth bothering about are the laws that do me good."

"What concern is it of mine if the children suffer?" he would have asked, and to-day there might be little boys and girls of four and five wearing away their puny strength in the darkness of the mines, instead of running happily to school in the bright fresh air. It was through

Lord Shaftesbury and others doing, not merely what would help themselves, but what they felt to be their duty to their country, that we possess the laws that safeguard our lives and interests to-day.

This is the debt we owe to the past, and it is only by obeying the laws and helping to improve them that we can in the least repay it ; for just as the present is what the men and women of the past have made it, so the future rests in our hands to-day.

This is a difficult thought to understand, but it is one that every boy and girl ought to try to realize, for too often they are inclined to think " It doesn't matter in the least to any one else what we do," whereas in reality every man's smallest act affects his neighbour.

You have only to think of a large army marching in regiments, batteries, and brigades through a hostile country. The vanguard of that huge host is lost to sight beyond the horizon long before the rearguard columns appear across the distant hills. Does it make no difference to the men behind if the men in front march boldly and steadily, or if they break up their ranks and walk slackly and carelessly ? Of course it does. If the vanguard is defeated, the rest of the army will have twice as hard a battle before them.

Again, does it make no difference to the front ranks whether they are supported or not by the columns behind ? It is an old truth that a victory that is not followed up is a mere waste of brave men's lives. Vanguard and rearguard, each must do their share if the army is to win its way. Perhaps it is hard for the men in front to think always of those behind, whom they can-

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not see, and to remind themselves, "These fellows belong to us ; we must make things easy for them when they come along." Thus they learn to say, "We all belong to a great army," and gradually the idea of the army's honour and glory becomes the moving power that binds vanguard and rearguard into one powerful host.

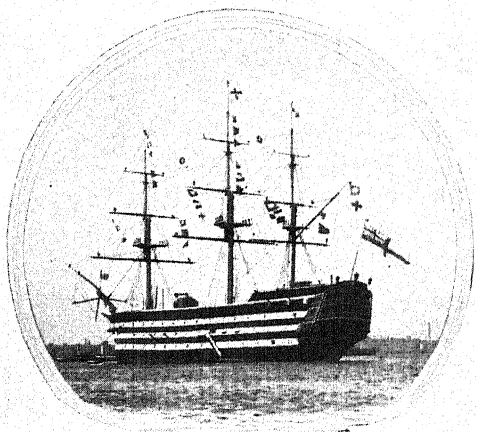
The secret of success is the same for a nation. Each generation is a vanguard who must win glory or shame for the next ; and because it is difficult to care for the interests of hundreds and thousands of men and women whom we shall never see, we think instead of the land to which citizens of the past, present, and future alike belong. If we to-day allow our land to fall below what the men of the past made it, we have strayed from the steady march of our great national army ; and those who come after us, and have to fight the battles we lost through cowardice or carelessness, will think of us with sadness or scorn.

To take our share in the making of the nation, that is what is meant by doing our duty as citizens. If we think of it in that way, duty will not seem dull or tedious, but something to which it is well worth while to offer our best.

Therefore, though few may praise, or help, or heed us,
Let us work on with head or heart or hand
For that we know the future ages need us,
And we must help our time to take its stand.

"England expects every man to do his duty !" That was the message of Admiral Nelson, one of the greatest Englishmen, to his fleet, before the sea-fight at

Trafalgar. It is the message which has rung down the generations since his time, and makes obedience to our laws, not a matter of mere compulsion or of selfish necessity, but of grateful love towards our country.



The *Victory*, flying Nelson's Signal on the Anniversary of Trafalgar.

Book II

The Motherland and the Empire

"What should they know of England who only England know?"—RUDYARD KIPLING.

Chapter XIII

The Building of the Empire

WE have learnt that every true citizen loves his country and puts her interests before his own ; but we must remember that our country is not merely the British Isles. There is another Britain beyond the seas, of which those who live in the home country are also citizens, an empire so vast that it has been truly said, "over her shores the sun never sets."

Many hundreds of years ago Britain had no empire at all, but was only, in the eyes of the rest of Europe, a small island in a far corner of the map, to be remembered perhaps for her cloth and the luxuriant wool crops from which it was made, but otherwise of little value or importance. It would require a book all to itself to describe fully how from this small island she grew into an empire, and to record the lives and works of all the great men who were our empire-builders.

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Here we can mention only a few of the names and deeds that every British boy and girl should think of with gratitude and pride.

The first deed we will take was not done by an Englishman at all, but by an Italian in the service of the King of Spain.

"I will sail to the west," said the Genoese navigator, Christopher Columbus, "and find a new route to India across the stormy ocean."

Men laughed at him, or shook their heads and declared him mad, not because there was a whole continent and another vast ocean between Western Europe and India, for no one then knew of the existence of America, but because they believed the other side of the Atlantic was the end of the world. Columbus, they thought, would sail over the edge into space and be lost. To-day, knowing that the earth is round, we should be very scornful in our turn of the idea of any one falling over the edge; but we must remember that ever since Columbus's time men have toiled and explored to gain the knowledge that we are inclined to hold so cheap, because we have not toiled for it, but merely learnt it from the lips or the books of others.

Columbus was not to be stopped by laughter or warnings. He sailed away to the west across the stormy ocean with his three small ships, so unlike our huge modern liners, and to his pluck and endurance we owe the discovery of that great continent called, after a later Italian explorer, "America."

And what has America to say to the building of the British Empire? A great deal, you will see, if you look

at a map of the world, for it was with the discovery of America that our reputation as a trading power first began.

Before that time Italian vessels had carried our wool and cloth to European markets ; but now Englishmen, incited by the reported riches of the new world, began to build ships of their own and to explore unknown waters. Some brought back gold and silver from the mines of South America, others fish from Newfoundland, while others in later years sailed to the east by way of the Cape of Good Hope and founded trading stations on the Indian coasts. From these trading stations grew our Indian Empire, "the brightest jewel in our king's crown ;" while, at home, small ports like Bristol and Southampton became, on account of their new trade, flourishing towns with prosperous inhabitants.

The British Empire was built on trade. That is the first thing which every British citizen should remember about the State to which he belongs ; and, just as a house which is built of bricks will collapse if the mortar rots and the bricks crumble, so our Empire will fall in ruins if the trade, which is her life's blood, ebbs away to more industrious nations.

But our Empire is built on something more than trade, for this very trade is due to the courage and energy of the men who worked and toiled—sometimes for personal rewards, often for none at all—to make Britain famous and respected.

There is a poem which describes how the Union Jack, the standard of our Empire, has been carried wherever the wind blows, and each wind in turn bears witness to

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the national strength and daring of which that flag is the token. This is the testimony of the east wind :

Never the lotos closes, never the wildfowl wake,
But a soul goes out on the east wind that died for
England's sake—

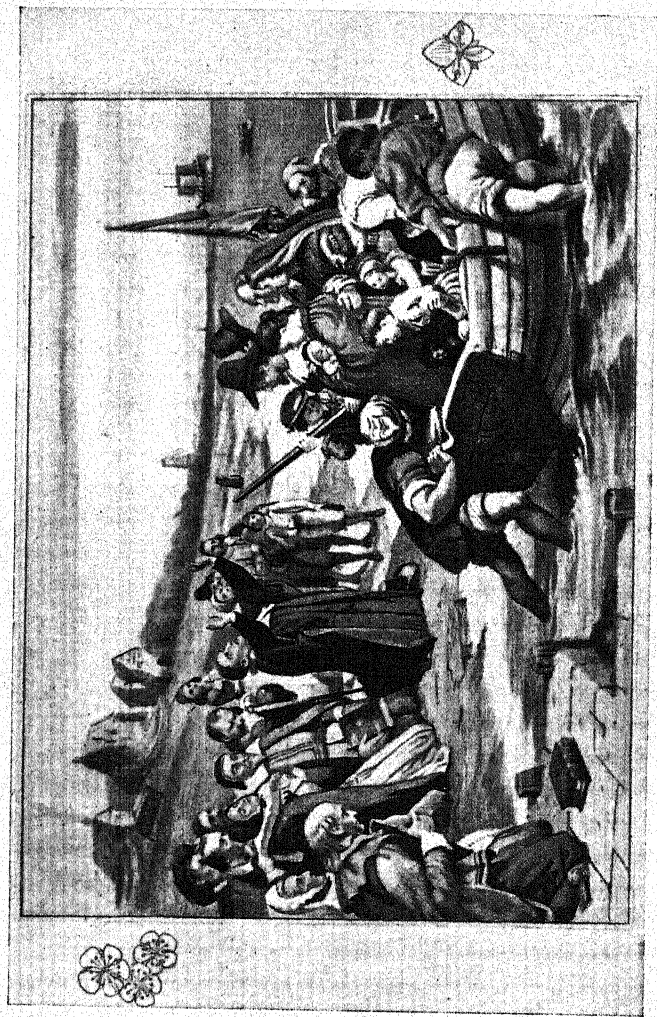
Man or woman or suckling, mother or bride or maid—
Because on the bones of the English the English flag is
stayed.

Yet many of our early empire-builders, judged by modern ideals, were adventurers and pirates. They burnt and sacked towns, they captured black men in Africa and sold them as slaves in America, they fought for the love of fighting. This is true, and we can be thankful for the lessons of mercy and freedom we have learnt since their time. These lessons have taught the soldier to help his wounded foe, the sailor to man the boat that goes to pick up the crew of the enemy's sunken vessel ; and have made the slave free the moment he touches British soil or the deck of a British ship.

We must not, however, in remembering the faults, forget the virtues of these ancestors of ours : the bull-dog courage and tenacity that never acknowledged defeat ; the loyalty that stood by a comrade no matter what odds had to be faced ; and, above all, the patriotism which placed country and national honour before self and life. These men, rough and hard though they may have been, were the pioneers of England's greatness, and on their pluck and daring her heritage was raised.

The harvest is sown :

By the bones about the wayside ye shall come to your own.



Departure of the Pilgrim Fathers. From a fresco by C. W. Cooper, R.A.,
in the Palace of Westminster.

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Most famous of all these pioneers was Sir Francis Drake, who, first of all English captains, saw the Pacific Ocean and sailed round the world. Another was Sir Walter Raleigh, who, not content with trading and exploring, attempted also to found a colony of English settlers on the other side of the wide Atlantic. He failed, for adventurers in search of gold and silver are not the stuff of which colonists are made ; and when these first emigrants found there was no gold and silver where they had settled, and that they would have to turn farmers and plough the soil, they returned to England as fast as they could.

It needed a different type of man to carry out the work of colonizing, for which the swords and courage of the pioneers had cleared the way. Such were the sturdy "Pilgrim Fathers," who sailed from England in the *Mayflower* in the reign of James I, not in search of precious stones or metals, but to found a home in the New World where they could worship God as they chose without fear of persecution.

Like the adventurers of a century before, they had their faults, for they were cruel to the natives whom they found in America, and no more tolerant towards those who held different religious views than the Government which had driven them from their homes ; but apart from these failings they were a sober, hardworking people, willing to wait patiently through months or even years of disaster to see the result of their labours. They felled trees, they built houses and stockades to protect them from Red Indians, they ploughed acres of waste land and turned it into gardens and cornfields, till

under their axes and harrows grew up a New England of farms and villages beyond the Atlantic Ocean.

New England, and the other colonies of English settlers that gathered round her, threw off in later years the rule of the mother country, and became, under the name of the "United States," a separate nation. Yet the Pilgrim Fathers must be regarded none the less as builders of the British Empire. From them we learnt that the secret of successful colonization lies in patience and hard work ; and ever since their time men and women, following their example, have left Great Britain to found by trade and hard work new homes in distant parts of the world.

At first the interest of every one remained centred in the new continent across the Atlantic ; but gradually, as its shape and size were realized, curiosity was aroused also by the thought of the almost unknown seas to the south of Africa and America, and the British Government fitted out ships and sent them to explore. Chief of the captains whom they chose was James Cook, who possessed all the courage and daring of the early pioneers.

The son of a Yorkshire farm-labourer, he first began to earn his living as a draper's boy in a tiny fishing village. At night, when the shutters were drawn and the shop closed, he would steal away to listen to the fishermen's talk as they mended their nets, and laughed and joked over their adventures on the stormy North Sea. Into his heart crept the determination that he also would sail on the sea and learn its wonders, so one day he ran away

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from the shop and became a sailor on a small trading-vessel.

It was a hard career he had chosen, and Cook did not make his fortune all in a day, as lads sometimes do in fairy-stories, but very seldom in real life. He began at the bottom of the ladder and learnt everything, from making a strong knot and throwing a rope straight, to steering a ship. When he had risen to be mate of a collier, he left the trading-service and joined the Royal Navy.

Here his experience and skill told in his favour, and he soon gained promotion, till at last after a number of years he was chosen to command a ship that should explore the South Pacific Ocean.



Captain Cook.

Now these seas were not entirely unknown before Cook's time. Portuguese had found themselves in the fertile island of New Guinea, the Dutch had discovered Tasmania and New Zealand, while Spaniards had landed on the western coast of Australia, though no permanent settlements had been made there. To those who first saw it the mainland seemed a dry unprofitable stretch of country, not worth the effort of exploring farther.

It was in April, 1770, that James Cook, after leaving Tasmania, sighted the south-east coast of Australia. Sailing northwards he learnt at last that this land he had

reached was no small island, but a vast continent, and under the name of New South Wales he claimed it as British ground.

Cook made several voyages to complete his discovery, and traders and colonists followed where he had shown the way. Many of these first colonists were convicts banished in shiploads from the home country ; and thus the early days of the new settlement were stormy and wild. The governors found it hard to maintain discipline, while the soldiers sent to support them proved often as unruly as the rest of the population. However, in the end the colony triumphed ; the soldiers were brought under control ; the convict settlers learnt that by good behaviour they could earn their freedom, and began to make roads and farms, and to build schools and houses. Sheep were imported from Cape Colony, and New South Wales was shown to be one of the finest grazing lands in the world. Later, gold mines were discovered, and since then the prosperity of Australia has been increasing every year, and we can imagine to-day something of the marvellous future that lies before her.

There is a land where summer skies
Are gleaming with a thousand dyes,
Blending in witching harmonies ;
And grassy knoll and forest height
Are flushing in the rosy light,
And above all is azure bright,
Australia.

While Australia was growing and developing, wonderful changes had been happening in the home country



Captain Cook hoisting the Flag in New South Wales.

that were to strengthen and increase the importance of the Empire. These changes were so great that if we found ourselves back in the old England before they had taken place we should rub our eyes, and deny probably that it was England at all.

First, there would seem so few people anywhere ; and instead of the greater number of them living in northern towns, like Birmingham, Manchester, and Sheffield, the most populous part of the land apart from London would be the southern counties.

Even if we went to what was thought a big place then, we should find ourselves asking in amazement, "But where is all the machinery? You say you are making wool into cloth, but we don't see any great factories ; and how do you carry the bales from one place to another if there are no railways?"

And then we should learn that there were no factories or machinery, and that the cloth was made on little handlooms that each worker could store away in a corner of his own cottage, and that when the material was ready it would be carried either along the rough highroads on packhorses, or else, if the town was near a river or a canal, it would be put in a barge and taken to the nearest port. You can understand how slow this way of manufacturing was compared to our modern methods, and how, when the great change which is called the "Industrial Revolution" came, it made an enormous difference to trade and industry.

First there were inventions of machinery, and then the opening up of the coalfields in Wales and the north to provide the fuel to work the new machinery, till

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finally there emerged the sooty hustling England of to-day, with all her factories, coal-mines, railways, and steamships. Instead of growing corn and keeping sheep, Englishmen began to spend their money in buying raw cotton or wool from abroad, and this they manufactured into stuffs and clothes, and sold them to the colonies and foreign nations, receiving in return shiploads of foreign corn and grain to provide themselves with food. It was a great time of prosperity, for no other country had yet begun to manufacture on a large scale, and England grew enormously rich ; but in gaining all this wealth she lost one safeguard : she ceased to be self-supporting.

In old days she could feed and clothe herself entirely, for her corn and her wool were grown at home ; but when she ceased to grow corn in large quantities, and bought it instead from America and Russia, while her factories manufactured cotton that had been grown in India, she became dependent on others for the necessaries of her life and trade. This was a great danger ; and, as you will see later, it is only because Britain has the Empire behind her, and can look to her colonies for help and they to her, that she and they can face these new conditions.

Now that we have learnt how the Empire has been built, that her bricks are trade and invention, and the mortar which binds them together the enterprise and endurance of her citizens, we must go further and study the government of those wide stretches of territory and little islands that make up the "Greater Britain" beyond the seas.

Chapter XIV

The Government of the Empire

THE SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES, CROWN COLONIES, AND PROTECTORATES

IF you look at a map of the world with the British possessions marked in red, you will see of what very different kinds of places the British Empire is composed. They are rather like the pieces of a picture puzzle.

First there are the great broad territories of Canada, Australia, India, and South Africa; then there are islands or groups of islands like Ceylon or Fiji, and small coaling-stations such as Malta or Aden; while lastly there are strips of land in various countries called Protectorates. Now all these places have to be governed; but since many are as different in their inhabitants and customs as they are in size, it would be impossible to rule them all in the same way. Thus, though they are all subject to a certain extent to the Imperial Parliament at Westminster, and each possesses a governor or official who represents the King, these two facts are often the only points of resemblance between some parts of the Empire and others.

The parts of the Empire whose governments in their freedom most closely resemble that of the British Isles are the self-governing colonies of Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland. "England's

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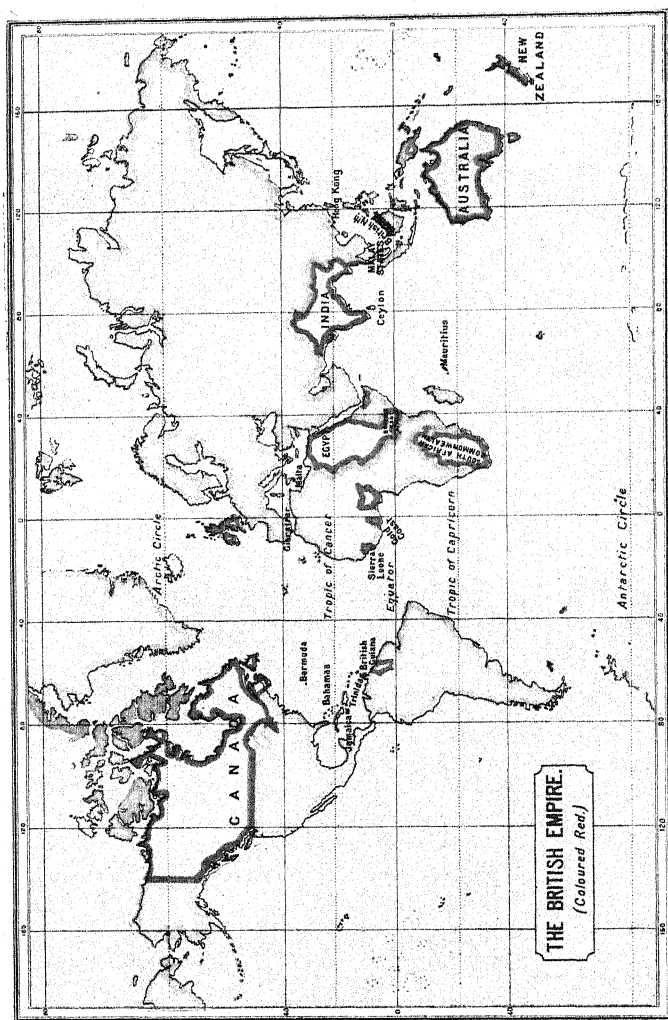
grown-up children" they have sometimes been called, because the mother country realizes that they have reached a stage when they are able to decide their own affairs wisely and clearly.

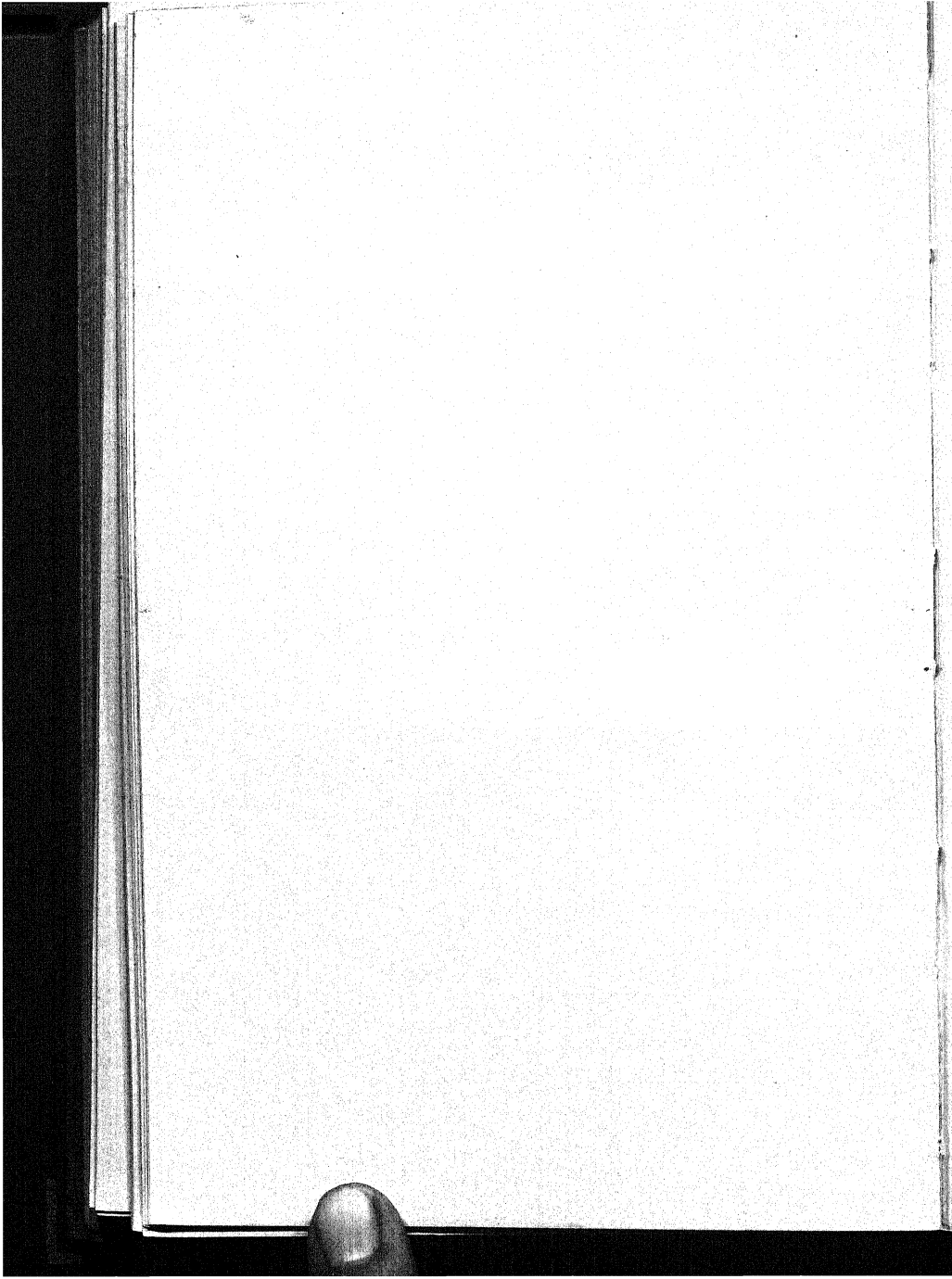
The law that ye make shall be law, and I do not press my will,
Because ye are Sons of the Blood and call me Mother still.

Canada, "the land of the maple-leaf," is the oldest of these self-governing colonies, and has often proved her loyalty to fellow-citizens on this side of the Atlantic, since the day when she refused to join the Americans of New England and other British settlers in their War of Independence. Yet she did not gain her present prosperity and peace without a struggle, and, owing to misunderstanding and discontent within her boundaries, her very loyalty itself was at one time threatened. The chief danger lay in the fact that the Canadians did not all belong to one nation. In Upper or Western Canada the people were British, while in Lower Canada on the shores of the Atlantic and great St. Lawrence river they were French, and quarrels were continually arising between the two races.

The Home Government realized that something must be done to restore order, but from more than three thousand miles away it was very hard to decide what was best. Finally, one of England's cleverest men, Lord Durham, was chosen and sent to Canada as Governor.

"You are the fittest man for the task," wrote the Prime Minister when he asked him to accept the post, and he was right. Lord Durham was strong, resolute,





and full of resources. He put down rebellion with a firm hand, yet he showed that he sympathized with the people he had come to govern, and understood their needs. Everywhere he went, whether in Upper or



LORD DURHAM



Lower Canada, he won popularity and inspired loyalty towards the England from which he came.

In the meanwhile, over three thousand miles away, the Government at home, foolish in its want of knowledge, was already beginning to regret that it had given him so

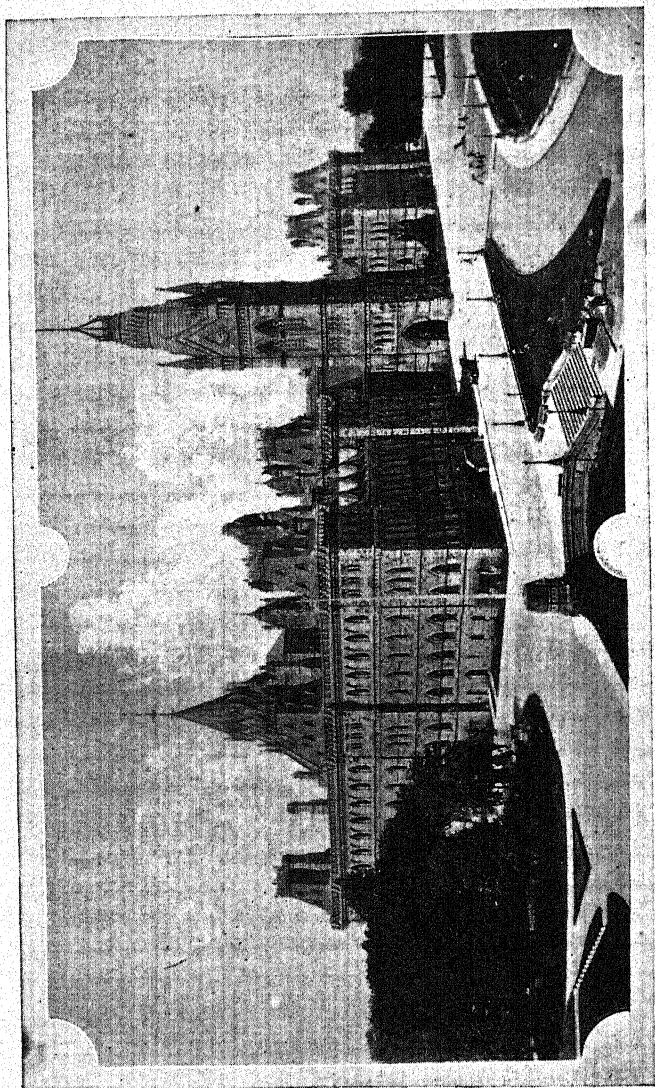
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free a hand, and in the midst of his work Lord Durham was suddenly recalled.

It was a bitter blow both for the man himself and for the colony which had grown to love and respect him ; and soon after he reached England, worn out from illness and disappointment, the people at home learnt their mistake. Lord Durham had written a report of all he had seen in Canada, and after showing its wonderful possibilities he had suggested that Upper and Lower Canada should be united, and that to both should be granted some measure of self-government.

When the report was laid before Parliament, many of those who read it realized for the first time how little they had understood the progress and development of this our first dominion ; and on Lord Durham's report was afterwards based an Act of Parliament by which Lower and Upper Canada were joined in one. To-day the two Canadas enjoy almost complete self-government, and the old feud between the races has died away. In the words of their famous statesman, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, "Canada has become a nation."

Canada is composed of nine Provinces, and each has its separate Government for provincial affairs. It consists of a Lieutenant-Governor and a Parliament of one or two Houses according to the size of the population. But, besides these Provincial Governments, there is a big central Parliament at Ottawa, the capital, to make laws and decide matters that affect the country as a whole. Its House of Commons has over two hundred paid members, elected by constituencies, like our own M.P.'s ; while the Senate, the second House, which



Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.

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answers to our House of Lords, and whose members sit for life, is chosen by the Governor-General sent out by the British Government at Westminster to represent the King.

This is what is known as a "Federal Government," because it is government by a "federation" or group of small governments; and the dominions of Australia and South Africa are ruled very much on the same lines. New Zealand and the large island of Newfoundland on the shores of the Atlantic are also self-governing, and have their Parliaments of paid and elected representatives.

Britain has found that these great nations, thousands of miles from her coasts, whose people for the most part share her blood and traditions, are both able and willing to protect her interests and their own. What more is really needed now is a closer drawing of the links of sympathy and knowledge; and that is why a Colonial Conference is held every few years in London, at which the Secretary for Colonial Affairs and the Prime Ministers of all the self-governing colonies are present, that matters of importance to the whole Empire may be discussed and made clear.

That ye may talk together, brother to brother's face—
Thus for the good of your peoples, thus for the Pride of the Race.

Also, we will make promise : so long as the Blood endures,
I shall know that your good is mine ; ye shall feel that
my strength is yours !

But there are other colonies which, loyal though they
may be are not yet sufficiently developed to be entrusted

with such full independence and power. These are the Crown Colonies, by far the most numerous of our many different kinds of possessions. They have generally a large coloured population, and on account of this it is impossible that they should at present govern themselves, for the negro races are not so civilized as the white, nor have they had handed down to them through generations the same ideas of justice and peace. They are like the children in an infant school, who must learn the alphabet and their figures before they can be sent into the larger school to write and do sums. It would be silly to tell a child who did not know the difference between one and three to add them together, and it would be just as foolish to give a share in the government to those who are quite ignorant of what good government means.

On the other hand, if the coloured races are not yet sufficiently developed to be able to rule themselves, it would be unfair to leave them entirely at the mercy of the white men in their colony by giving self-government to Europeans alone. The white man might be tempted to think his coloured neighbour of no account, and, forgetting the true meaning of justice, rule only to please himself. It is more just to both races that the colony should be ruled by officials sent out from England, picked men who can have no personal interest save in doing their duty to all whom they are sent to govern. Such are the governors and judges who administer law and justice in our Crown Colonies, sometimes without assistance, but occasionally with the aid of a Council of the principal inhabitants, whose advice they may follow or not as they think fit.

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Ceylon, the island at the foot of the Indian peninsula, is one of the largest of these Crown Colonies. There are many others in all parts of the world. And besides the Crown Colonies there are British Protectorates, lands with native rulers who act on the advice of British officials and are assisted, if necessary, by British soldiers to carry out the laws they make. Wild, turbulent places these Protectorates were in old days before they came under British influence, the scenes of bloodshed and cruelty, and a terror to the more peace-loving tribes upon their borders. Gradually, under a strong and just government, their inhabitants learnt the lessons of civilization, and wattled stockades bristling with spears gave way to more luxurious dwellings, good roads, and even railways and schools.

"How different is the Uganda of to-day from that of thirty years ago!" writes an English missionary of the native States of Uganda in Central Africa which have lately become a British Protectorate. He has a wonderful tale to tell of swamps and marshes reclaimed, of the building of churches and schools, and of the healthy competition in sports and games that has taken the place of the old fighting and slaying.

"We are thankful for the British flag," he adds, "that flutters over every outpost in the country, ensuring the blessings of peace, prosperity, and religious liberty to all under its sway."

This is good news, for it tells us that Englishmen in distant Uganda are doing their duty; and we must remember that duty is the price we pay for empire. The land which fails to give "peace, prosperity, and liberty

of worship" to her colonies and protectorates has shirked her duties, and she will lose in time, indeed she does not deserve to keep, the privileges that come from an imperial rule.

Chapter XV

The Government of the Empire (*continued*)

BRITISH INDIA

THERE is yet another of our possessions at whose government we must look before we leave the subject of how our Empire is ruled—the great Dependency of India, of which our King is emperor. It is the most important, as it is the most difficult to rule, of all British possessions. If we were to lose India, we should lose a great part of the trade that feeds our large manufacturing towns with work, and provides their ever-growing population with money to buy food. That is why India is so important to Englishmen; but if we examine further we shall see that England is equally necessary to the welfare of the peoples of India. Neither could remain strong or prosperous without the other.

If we try and realize something of what India is like we shall soon find that this is true. First, we must remember that though we talk of India as a country, she is really more like a continent, for she is nearly as large as Europe, and contains as many different

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racess within her boundaries as Europe does nations. It would be just as difficult for a Sikh from the Punjab to make himself understood in the southern provinces of India, as for a Dane or Norwegian who suddenly found himself transplanted to the streets of some Spanish village.

It is impossible, therefore, to think of India as one nation, and there are other differences as well which draw even wider divisions between one part of the population and another. Religious feeling is very strong in India, and it is with great reluctance that the people of one faith will allow those of another to worship as they please. Indeed, if it were not for the Indian army, which is always at hand under the command of British officers ready to



A Sikh Officer.

maintain order, there would be frequent religious massacres, and temples, mosques, and churches would be burnt to the ground. The Hindus, who form a large part of the population of India, believe that the cow is a sacred animal, and would rather die themselves than kill a cow or eat beef. In consequence, they look with anger and horror on their Mohammedan neighbours, who not only eat beef, but sacrifice bulls as part of their religious observances. You can imagine then that it needs a strong and watchful Government to keep

the peace, for besides hating one another, Hindus and Mohammedans dislike almost as much the Christians, Jews, and other religious sects that are scattered up and down India.

It has been found best up till now to rule India from Britain ; and it is the people of Britain who have the vote and go to the polls that are in the end responsible for her good or bad government. I told you in an earlier chapter about the Foreign and Colonial Offices that manage foreign and colonial affairs, and that just in the same way there is an India Office to manage Indian affairs. The head of this office is the Secretary of State for India, who is also a member of Parliament, and therefore responsible to the electors for all that he says and does.

It is his duty to advise and assist the Viceroy, who is the King's representative in India, and all the other governors and officials of the different provinces who manage the difficult and important business of ruling our Eastern Empire. Besides the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and Governors, there are also Councils to provide information and carry out instructions ; and though there are often some natives amongst their members, the greater number are always British, because the men of our race have much more experience of, and a much greater skill in, the difficult art of government, than men of eastern races.

Sometimes you will meet men and women who will tell you that the English ought not to keep the government of India, but ought to hand it back to the native races to whom it once belonged. They are generally

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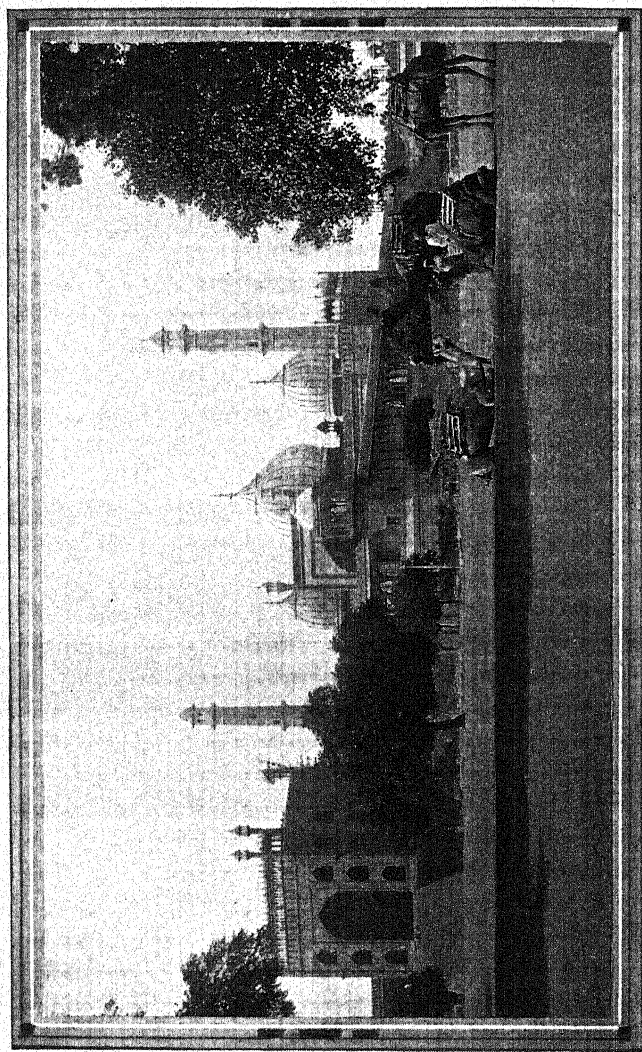
men and women who are very ignorant of India, and do not understand in the least what horrible things would happen if their advice were followed.

Let us think for a minute of what India was like before it came under British rule.

"Every individual," wrote an Indian of that time, "as if he were in a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm."

Is not this very like the description of England given by the chroniclers in the reign of the weak king, Stephen? We can picture the marauding bands of nobles or robbers, the ruined towns and burning houses, the trampled cornfields and murdered villagers, all the signs of a country where there is no settled law, but each man is left to do what is wrong or right in his own eyes. England gave to the country that her traders conquered law and order, the greatest gifts that any land can enjoy, and India has profited by them.

"When we think of India to-day, we think of Calcutta, the second city in the British Empire, with its crowded shipping and smoke-vomiting factories; we think of Bombay, with its spinning and weaving mills, its dock-yards and shipping, and its Parsi merchant princes; and not least we think of Madras, where the English have been at home for over 250 years: we think of its sea-washed harbour, its growing trade, and its teeming bazaars. Through the seaports of India one-tenth of the whole trade of the British Empire now passes . . . To build up this colossal trade everything, from roads to railways, from irrigation of the crops to canals for transport, as well as telegraphs and all the appliances



Delhi : the Jāma Masjid.

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of modern commerce, has been evolved under the security of British rule in little more than half a century."

It is a wonderful change from anarchy to prosperity ; and every year, as more and more natives are educated in the schools we have built, and learn the use of modern machinery, and follow modern methods of agriculture, this prosperity increases. If we were to cease to govern India, not only would our trade be hurt, and all the money we have spent there on railways, harbours, canals, reservoirs, schools, and universities be thrown away, but India itself would become once more a battle-ground of tribal feuds and religious quarrels.

"What would you do if we British gave up India?" a warlike chief of the Sikh tribe, now an officer in our Indian army, was once asked.

The man's eyes gleamed.

"I would draw my sword", he said, "ride down from the mountains and carry fire through Bengal."

Now Bengal is one of the richest provinces in India ; its population are the most advanced in their ideas and the best educated of all the coloured races ; but they are soft and peace-loving, no match in battle for a hardy Border tribe. If we gave up India the fertile plains of Bengal would become a desert of burning houses and smoking ruins.

It is Britain that keeps India one, and prevents race from murdering race, and one religion from persecuting another. We have done much, but there is still much we can do. According to a native writer, "Seven children out of eight in India are growing up to-day in

ignorance and darkness, and four villages out of five are as yet without a school-house."

It would be impossible to leave such a population to govern themselves, but it is both possible and our duty to educate and raise them. Perhaps in the years to come they will learn also the lessons of unity, peace, and toleration that grow from the seed of knowledge.

At present we at home can only help India by securing for her a strong government, which will judge impartially between races and religions, allowing all to develop that which is best in each. The one thing of which we must be careful is that we do not make changes too quickly, or expect immediate results from our labours. Nations, like men and women, grow slowly, and only time and care will bring them to maturity.

Chapter XVI

The Defence of the Empire

THE NAVY

WAR is at any time a dreadful thing, for it means the loss of hundreds if not thousands of strong and healthy lives; and when we think of it, our minds picture at once a battlefield with its dead and dying, towns with gaping walls torn open by shot and shell, and ships sunk or drifting helpless before the wind.

Besides this sacrifice of human life there is the less, but still heavy, cost to the nation of trade for the

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time diminished and debt incurred, to provide for the expenses of an army on active service.

Citizens should think long and carefully before they allow their country to go to war; for it is with those who possess a vote that the decision will rest. They must ask themselves, and answer the question honestly, "Is this war that is suggested just and necessary?"

If they are convinced it is neither, each must do his best to send to Parliament members who will insist on peace, and not be led away by the glamour of glory for its own sake, forgetting the cost of life and wealth at which it must be won.

But when they ask themselves "Is this war necessary and just?" they must remember also, as they think over their answer, that there is one thing more dreadful than war, and that is dishonourable peace. If the war is necessary and just, it must be fought whatever the price to be paid; and so we come to the important matter of what we mean in this connexion by "necessary and just."

A just war is one fought to stop some wrong being done that could not otherwise be prevented. A man who saw another man brutally ill-treating a small child would justly interfere to stop him by force, if warnings proved useless and there was no policeman to whom to appeal for the assistance of the law. In the same way a country, which learns that some other country is permitting a horrible crime contrary to the conscience of the civilized world, has the right to interfere to prevent this wrong being continued.

And if English citizens, asking themselves "Are we

seeking for others only the freedom and security that we enjoy ourselves?" can answer honestly "Yes!", then they will know that the war before them is not only just, but necessary.

England, what thou wert thou art !
Gird thee with thy ancient might,
Forth ! and God defend the right !

Besides wars fought for the relief of the weak and oppressed, there are others equally necessary that our citizens may be called on to wage. There are wars for the defence of the Empire or of allies, with whom Britain has made treaties in past years, pledging herself to aid them should they be attacked. A country has no more right than an individual to play the coward or to break faith.

Citizens should struggle indeed to maintain peace as long as they can, but they must not buy it at the price of national shame or imperial loss. Long ago there was a king of England named Æthelred, called in scorn by his subjects the "rede-less," or "man without advice." When his kingdom was attacked by Danes, instead of collecting an army and attempting to drive the enemy away, Æthelred made his people pay a heavy tax, and the money which they gave him he offered to the Danish chieftains.

"We will give you this," he said, "if you will return to your own land." The Danish chieftains took the money and sailed away, and Æthelred laughed to himself at his own cleverness. "See!" he said to his people, "I have bought you peace. It is better to pay a tax

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than to go to war ;" but the wise men at his court only shook their heads : they knew what would happen.

Presently the Danes were again in need of money, and at once they thought of England. "Here is a land of cowards," they argued, "men who will pay money rather than fight. We will go and see how much more we can wring from them." So they came back to the English shores with twice as many ships, and three times as extravagant demands for money.

In the end Æthelred "the rede-less" was forced to fight, for his subjects could not and would not go on paying heavy enough taxes to satisfy the invaders.

We can see from this that to buy peace is not the way to stop war, but only to postpone it to a later date. There is also another important lesson we can learn from this story of Æthelred and the Danes.

When the Danes first landed in England, they saw stretching before them a rich and fertile country, full of unprotected farms and wealthy monasteries, just the kind of place, in fact, to attract a warlike raider hunting for booty. Had they found, instead of flying villagers and frightened monks, an English army with weapons well sharpened ready in their hands, the invaders would have thought twice before they suggested either fighting or demanding money. They would have realized that it was useless for a few shiploads of warriors, however brave, to attack a nation in arms.

What was true then is true now. The country which will be able to remain at peace is the country which is fully prepared for war, for her enemies will hesitate to attack her. In this chapter we are going to see what

The Defence of the Empire 139

are the preparations our country has made for war, should she be called on to right some act of wrong, to help her allies, or to defend her empire.

First, we will take our sailors, the "bluejackets," who spend nearly all their lives on the stormy seas protecting our shores. Anybody who has lived near a large port, or one of our royal dockyards such as Chatham or Plymouth, will know what the floating homes of our sailors are like, from the massive battle-ships with the thick plates of iron or steel on their sides that have won them the name of "ironclads," to the small submarines whose conning-towers can only just be seen above the water-level as they pass rapidly on their way. Each ship has its captain, and under him are officers and men; some are gunners, some engineers, some carpenters. Besides the regular sailors, there are the marines who are drilled like soldiers, but live on board ship instead of in barracks or camps. When necessary the marines are put on shore to help in a land battle, and a smart force they have often proved, full of resource and pluck.

At the head of the whole navy is an admiral, and under him, commanding the different fleets of ships, vice-admirals and rear-admirals: and all of these look for advice and support in their important work to the Admiralty Office, in London, whose business it is to control and manage naval matters, just as it is the business of the War Office to supervise military matters.

The principal work of the navy is of course to defend our coasts and those of the Empire; for just as some states have a long line of mountains or a river as their boundary, which must be guarded by forts and soldiers,

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so the greater part of our frontier is the open sea, where day and night our battleships and cruisers keep vigilant watch over our interests. It is an undoubted protection, this sea-frontier with its wind-tossed waves ; but we must remember that besides being a frontier, it



Seaman
(full dress).



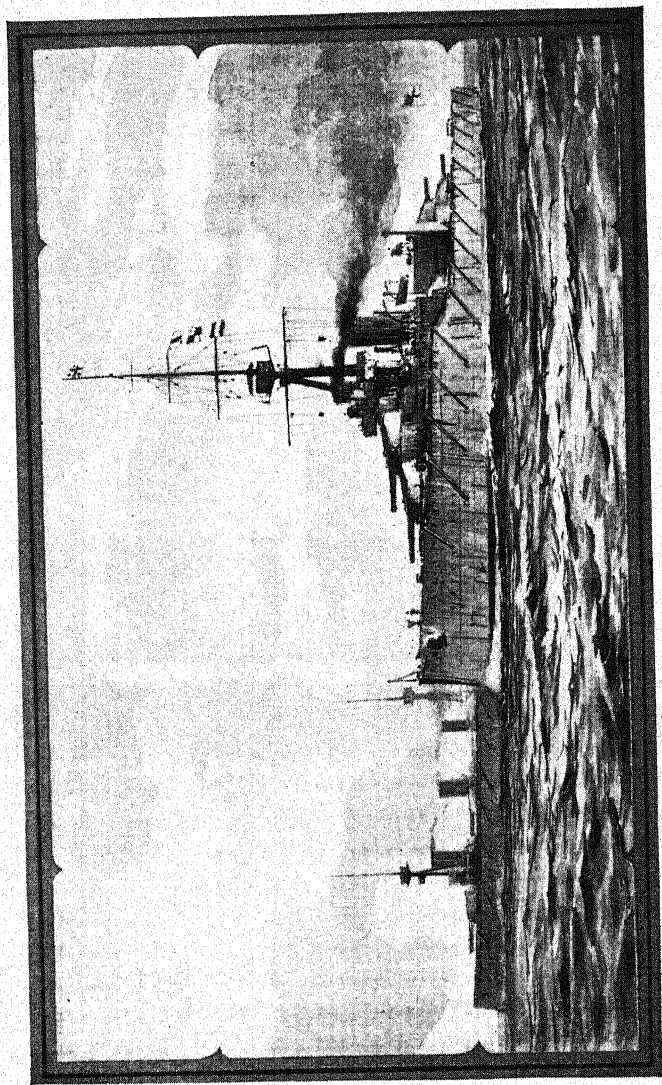
Marine
(full dress).



Admiral
(full dress).

is also a highroad for our Empire's trade, and herein lies danger as well as strength.

Were an enemy's fleet to block this highroad, so that no ships could reach our ports, not only would food fail (for there is not enough corn and wheat grown in Britain to feed its inhabitants for a fortnight), but all the cotton-fibre and wool that come to our country from India and Australia would be stopped, our mills



Battleship (Oregon) and Cruiser (Indefatigable).

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and factories would have to close down for want of raw material to manufacture, and millions of men and women would be thrown out of employment. It is on the navy that the food and work of every British citizen depends, and that is why our Admiralty Office strives to make the navy so strong that it could meet the attack of the strongest enemy that might come against it.

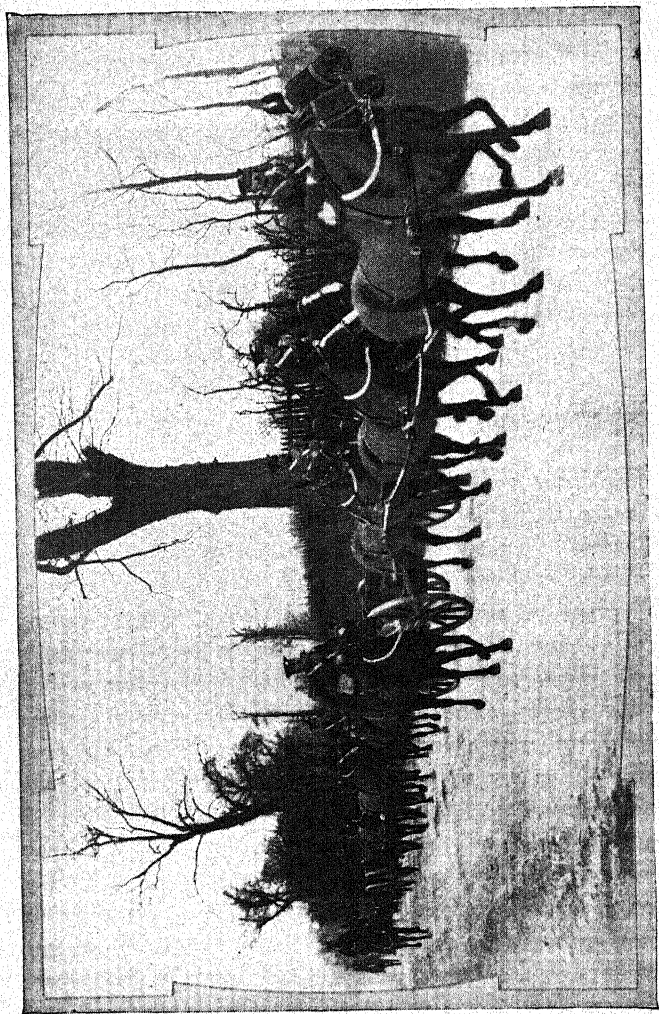
The fleet of England is her all-in-all ;
Her fleet is in your hands,
And in her fleet, her fate.

Chapter XVII

The Defence of the Empire (*continued*)

THE ARMY.

PERHAPS some of you are wondering why, if our navy is so important, Britain does not spend on her sailors all the money she can afford, and do without soldiers altogether ; but if you think for a moment, you will see that we should be running a grave risk had we no army to assist in our defence. The wise man who possesses jewels or silver plate which he wishes to keep secure in his own house, goes and buys a large safe ; and when he is choosing it, he takes care that it has several locks, each of which must be unfastened before it can be opened. A burglar might fairly easily force one lock,



Horse Artillery on the march.

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but when it came to three or four it would be a very different matter, and he would probably give it up in despair.

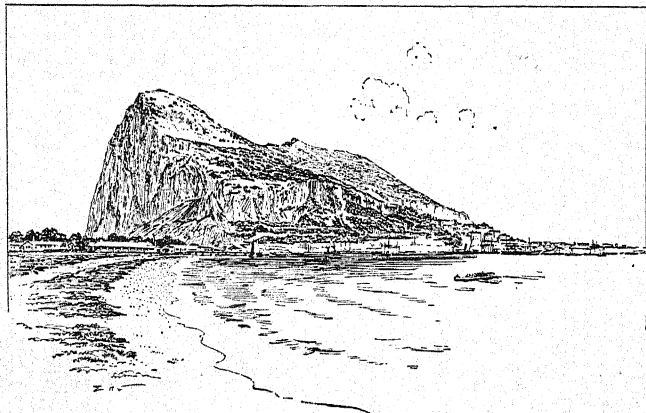
Well, our army is the second lock of our Empire safe, and so long as it is strong and efficient it will be hard for any one to steal our riches. Even if our first lock, the navy, were broken for the time in some great battle, our enemies would find themselves faced by our second line of defence, the British Army.

At the head of our army is the War Office, and under this are field-m Marshals and generals, and below them again the colonels of the different regiments into which our forces are divided. First there are the cavalry, mounted soldiers armed with carbines, swords, and lances, who can move swiftly from one place to another. Then there are the artillery brigades with their gun carriages drawn by teams of horses ; and next the engineers, who lay mines to blow up the enemy's fortifications, build bridges, and put up the telegraph wires, by means of which one part of the army learns what the other is doing. Lastly, there are our infantry, the foot-soldiers with their rifles, who take their share loyally and manfully in all the battles and marches of a great campaign.

Some of these soldiers are stationed at different camps or barracks in the British Isles, while others are sent across the sea to the defence of our possessions. There is always a large military force in Gibraltar, for instance, to protect "the Rock," as it is often called, from being surprised by some sudden attack. So long as we hold "the Rock" we keep command of one

entrance to that big inland sea the Mediterranean, which is part of our trade route to India. In the same way we guard Malta, because, though a small island, it is an important coaling-station, where our ships can fill their bunkers with the fuel that makes their engines work, and without which they would be useless.

In old days the British army had to carry out the



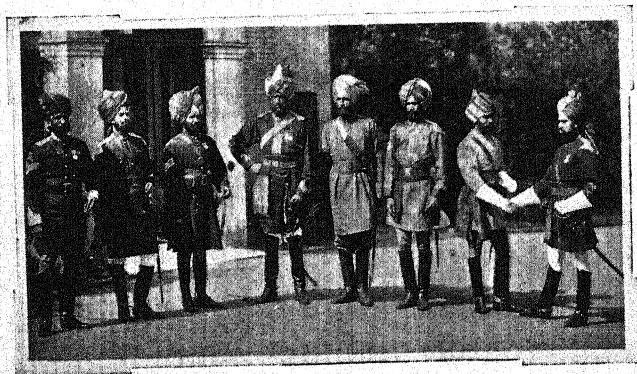
Gibraltar.

entire defence of the Empire unaided ; but now the self-governing Colonies are beginning to raise forces of their own, and their regiments can come to our assistance, just as we have gone to theirs. It was a proud day for the Empire, when she could count not only English, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh amongst her loyal soldiers in the South African War, but also men of Cape Colony and Natal, Australians, New Zealanders, and Canadians.

And when we are thinking of our land forces, we

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must not forget our Indian army. Besides the British regiments which keep the peace in India and guard her mountain frontier, there are also native regiments under the command of British and native officers. Loyally and well have some of these native soldiers served us against the fierce border tribes, and Englishmen should remember with pride the Guides of Cabul, whose names



Some of our Native Indian Soldiers (Cavalry).

will live on that long roll of citizens who have died in defence of the Empire.

Without hope of relief or support, these Guides held the mud walls of a border fort against hordes of besieging Afghans. They had one English officer, but a bullet struck him down, and he died with the last command on his lips, "Never give in!" It was a critical moment, for the enemy, seeing that the only white man was dead, came with offers of peace—

"You are our kin, with whom we have no feud," they cried; "join us, and throw off the English yoke!"

The choice was between surrender and death; but the Guides, never hesitating, proudly sent back their answer:—

Think ye the Guides will barter for lust of the light
The pride of an ancient people in warfare bred,
Honour of comrades living and faith to the dead?

Then, flinging wide the gate of the fort they could no longer hold, sword in hand they rushed down the mountain side to their last fight with England's foes.

It is stories like these, which show at how great a cost our Empire has been won and kept.

And how do the navy and army gain the courage and power that no ordinary crowd of untrained men possess?

By practice first of all. A football team of picked men, knowing one another's play, will get the upper hand of a scratch fifteen, collected just for the match from here, there, and everywhere. In the same way the ship's crew or regiment that knows its work, will be inspired by the true self-confidence that comes from understanding exactly what ought to be done.

And the next thing that gives courage and power is discipline, the habit of obeying orders, and so doing what ought to be done at the right moment. In the navy and army each man must obey without question any officer in rank above him, and this is not so hard as it may seem at first sight, for you must remember that all who give orders have themselves first learnt to obey others. The admiral was once a midshipman, the

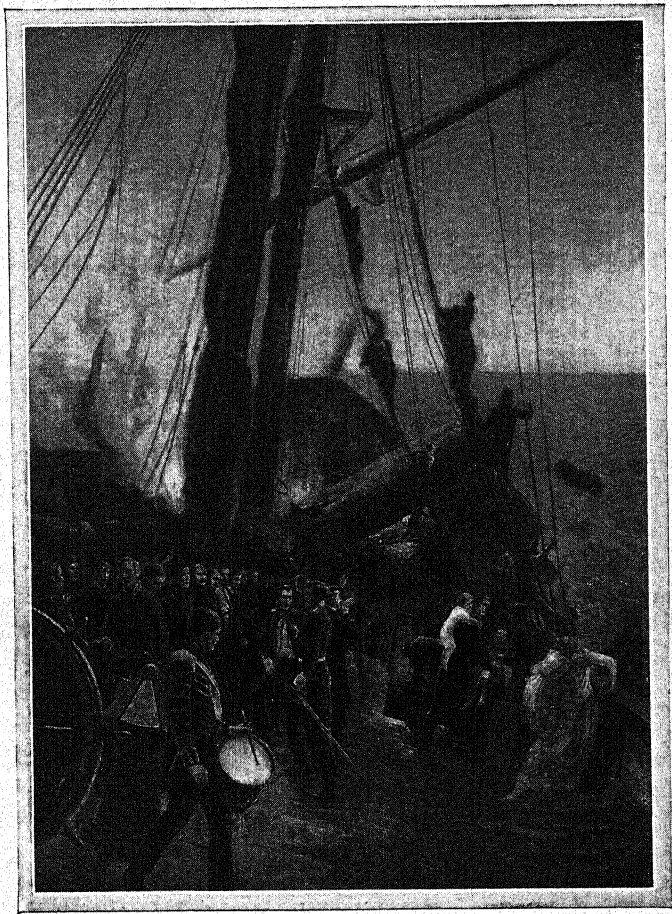
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general a young lieutenant, the sergeant a raw recruit. Discipline is merely a matter of habit, but a habit so important that it has given to the Empire some of her greatest heroes.

In 1852 the troopship *Birkenhead* was sailing along the South African coast. Near the Cape of Good Hope she struck a hidden rock so violently that she began to founder, and it was obvious that the waves would soon cut her in two. In spite of the frightful danger there was no panic; the boats were lowered and manned, the women and children were put safely into them, the troops were drawn up in line on deck. Was there room in the boats for the troops as well? was the anxious question. It became evident that there was not. The boats would only sink if they were overcrowded, and so their crews pushed off, and the soldiers remained behind, officers and men drawn up together side by side on the deck, obeying the command which meant their certain death.

Heroes ! who were those heroes ? Veterans steeled
To face the King of Terrors mid the scathe
Of many a hurricane and trenched field ?
Far other : weavers from the stocking frame ;
Boys from the plough ; cornets with beardless chin,
But steeped in honour and in discipline.

We are proud of our empire army when we read of the *Birkenhead* or the Guides at Cabul, and rightly so ; but we must not stop at mere pride. If soldiers have a duty to perform towards their fellow-citizens at home, we, who live at peace through their efforts, have also a duty towards them in which we must not fail. We also must be loyal and strong, not grudging the money



By permission of Messrs. Graves & Co.

The Wreck of the *Birkenhead*.

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that pays for our defence, nor, if we can possibly spare it, the time and energy that is more valuable even than money.

It might happen, if war broke out, that the greater part of our army would be summoned abroad to protect India, or help in the defence of some colony. Then if, while our army was absent, our navy was defeated and foreign troops actually landed on our coasts, what should we do? No doubt you will say indignantly, "Why, of course every one would defend his home;" but do you really think that, even if every one tried, they would be of much use without practice or discipline?

I wonder if you have seen a house on fire. If so, you will remember the wild excitement it caused at the time. Neighbours came running up to help with buckets, syringes, and long pieces of garden-hose. Every one worked with a will; but so many people talked and made suggestions, or nearly tripped one another up in their attempts to find water and ladders, that in the end the fire seemed to get quite out of control.

It was very different as soon as the firemen appeared. They had everything ready to hand, from a proper hose to fire-escapes and ladders. They each knew exactly what to do, were accustomed to obey their superior officers, and wasted no time or energy on useless suggestions. Soon the flames flickered away into smouldering ashes.

It was not enthusiasm or willingness to help that made the difference between the fireman and the ordinary man in the crowd: each did his best. The contrast lay in the fact that the one was trained to his work and the

other not, and this contrast is the same in every walk of life.

A man needs enthusiasm: he will never achieve much without it, for he must be "keen" to succeed; but he needs training as well, to turn his enthusiasm into the right channel. We should be very sorry if we were really left for our home defence to people who had hardly ever held a rifle and never marched or drilled.

Now every citizen cannot become a regular soldier, for England has as great a need of her civilians—doctors, lawyers, merchants, farmers, butchers, bakers, factory hands, and men of all the other professions and trades. What she does need as well is that every able-bodied citizen should train sufficiently to know how to defend his home if his country were actually invaded.

That is why there is a citizen force called "the Territorials" for home defence, which every healthy lad over eighteen may and ought to join. It has corps of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, like the regular army, and these go through a certain number of drills and spend so many days in a practice camp each year. In this way they receive practice and learn discipline, and so are ready to do their share, should occasion arise, in defending the Empire.

Lo! a nation's hosts have gathered
Round the quick alarming drum,
Saying "Come,
Freeman, come,
E'er your heritage be wasted," said the quick alarming
drum.

Chapter XVIII

The Value of the Empire

"THESE wretched colonies are a millstone round our neck," once wrote an English statesman. The years have proved this gloomy conviction false. To-day we know that the glory and strength of the mother country and her colonies are one and the same. A single possession lost or weakened would dim that glory and diminish that strength, just as the loss or paralysis of a limb will cripple and enfeeble the rest of the body to which it belongs. Our Empire is of value, not merely as a pleasant and stimulating idea, but as a solid working fact in the everyday lives of all the men, women, and children who live within her boundaries.

Let us look first at the practical value of the Empire to the colonies. We can see it best from a very simple example. A small boy was carrying a basket of apples from the village shop to his home. On the way he was stopped by a lad a few years older, who asked for some of the apples, threatening to punch their owner's head if his demand was refused. The small boy saw he would stand no chance in a fight, but he knew a counter-threat worth more than his own fists. "If you steal my apples," he said, "I'll tell my father and he'll make you pay for it."

His words brought before the elder lad's eyes visions of a probable thrashing, or a summons to the police court for theft ; so, realizing that the odds were against him,

he turned on his heel and walked off, leaving the owner of the apples unmolested.

It is the same with nations as with individuals: an ounce of real strength is worth several pounds of brag. If our colonies were independent states, they would have no backing power or strength behind them to gain them redress if they were injured. They might complain bitterly to a foreign power, "One of our trading vessels has been stopped and plundered by your subjects," and the foreign power would only answer politely, "We are very sorry, but it is quite impossible to do anything about the matter," which would be another way of saying they did not mean to try. It is a very different thing when the colony, however small, can add to her complaint a postscript, "We are part of a big empire which is determined we shall meet with justice."

So we see that the first great value of the Empire to the colonies is the protection she offers to all her sons and daughters, a protection guaranteed by the navy and army that guard her coasts and her trade routes.

The second is the value of common interests. Were the Empire to be broken up into separate states, Australians would have no more in common with Canadians or South Africans than they have with the American citizens of the United States, and this they would find a great disadvantage both in trade and ordinary intercourse. There is always a certain restraint and suspicion between two foreign powers when they are discussing business. Each has a lurking fear that the other is trying to get the better of him; but in the case of the Empire there is no room for this dis-

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trust; the good of one ought to be the recognized good of all.

This is an argument which is as true for the motherland as her possessions, for she also shares in the common good. Her cotton is largely grown in India, her wheat in Canada, her wool in Australia; and when her towns are overcrowded, and spells of unemployment hold out fears of want and starvation, it is in her colonies across the ocean that her surplus citizens can find employment and build up their homes anew.

It is true that at present by far the larger burden of the Empire's defence falls on Britain, and it is chiefly with her money that our battleships are built, and from her sons that our navy and army are recruited; but it would be a shortsighted man who would dare to say nowadays that, because of this extra cost, her possessions were of no value to Britain, but only "a millstone round her neck." The wise father and mother, who work and toil that sons and daughters may be well clothed and fed, and receive a sound education, do not grudge the money and energy they spend, and say it is a waste of time just because it must be years before the children can repay them a penny. They look ahead to the time when the children will be grown up, and imagine one boy perhaps a clerk in an office, another a soldier, and their girls in good situations—all out in the world providing for themselves, and able and ready, if need be, to assist in turn the parents who gave them their start in life.

The day may dawn also when the mother country will call upon her colonies and dependencies to come to her

aid, and they will prove her safeguard, as she has been theirs in the past, when they were only learning under her protection the lessons of empire-building.

Protection and defence of each and all, common interests and mutual help: these are the precious stones by which the value of the Empire is determined; and as modern achievements and improvements bridge the gulfs of time and distance, they will become continually more precious still. The system of penny postage throughout the Empire makes it as cheap for a man in India or Africa to write to his relations at home, as though he were divided from them by ten miles instead of several thousand. The submarine telegraph that flashes its messages beneath the Atlantic and Pacific "tells Londoners the result of a football match in Australia or Canada almost before the rival teams have left the field." The increased speed of our great liners has turned long journeys from one of our possessions to another into a matter of weeks instead of months, and in the future this may easily be shortened to days.

We have no excuse now for misunderstandings on the plea of our ignorance, for books, newspapers, lectures, and exhibitions are continually telling to citizens in one part of the Empire the life-story of the other. We have only to read, listen, and see, with our minds as well as our eyes and ears, and we can understand what is meant by our Empire, and why it is our privilege and glory to be its citizens.

And the sign or token of this great Empire to which we belong is the flag which we call the Union Jack. There are people who talk contemptuously of the Union

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Jack. They refer to it as "an old piece of bunting or stuff not worth what it costs a yard;" but you will generally find that these people are either "showing off," or else they are very stupid, and have picked up the phrase like a parrot without understanding what it means. If citizens of the Empire really knew what the flag meant, and the price in blood that has been paid to keep it flying, they would be ashamed of cheap jeers and laughter.

But, first of all, let us look at the flag itself. You will notice a broad red cross on a white background that runs from top to bottom of the flag, with its arms stretching from side to side. That is the Cross of St. George of England. Then there is a white cross on a blue background, only this time it is narrow and stretches from corner to corner like the letter X; that is the Cross of St. Andrew of Scotland. Lastly, there is a second X-shaped cross, red on a white ground, and this is the cross of St. Patrick of Ireland.

The Union Jack was first made in 1606, when, with the accession of James I, the kingdoms of England and Scotland were united. In 1801, when the parliamentary union between Great Britain and Ireland was brought about, the Cross of St. Patrick was added. Thus the flag is a sign of the union of the three kingdoms under the rule of our king. But it is also a sign of a far wider union still, the union of the whole Empire.

And what do I mean by a sign? If I take a very everyday example I think you will understand at once. A savage, if he picked up a purse of gold or silver coins, would look on them merely as metals dug out of the

ground, cut into round flat pieces and stamped with pictures and various odd marks. He would probably give them to his children to play with, heedless of whether they were lost or not ; yet if any civilized person treated them in this way, the rest of the civilized world would laugh. Why ?

After all, coins are merely bits of metal. Why should gold be more valuable than silver, or either of them more valuable than any other thing which is dug out of the ground—say stones or potatoes ?

One reason, of course, is that gold and silver are not so common as stones or potatoes ; they are *rare* metals, and gold is twenty times as rare as silver. But there are other metals still more rare, which yet are not used for coinage.

The real reason is that gold and silver have been *chosen* by the civilized world as signs of wealth. A hundred golden sovereigns, which represent a certain amount of wealth to civilized people, might be regarded as worthless by savages ; just as a hundred cowrie shells, which would be wealth to a savage, would be worth nothing to a white man.

Now perhaps you can understand why people look foolish when they talk of the Union Jack as “only a piece of stuff or bunting.” It is a piece of stuff or bunting, just as a gold or silver coin is a piece of metal ; but it is something far more besides, because it has been chosen as the sign of our Empire’s greatness.

Wherever there is British territory or land under British protection, the Union Jack floats proudly on the

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wind. Were that Union Jack torn down and replaced by another flag, it would mean that there the British had lost their power and influence.

In the reign of Queen Victoria, not so very many years ago, there was a dangerous rebellion in India which we call the Indian Mutiny. The greater number of native soldiers turned their weapons against their British officers, and Englishmen and their wives and children were shot down and massacred. It seemed for a time as if that great eastern dominion might be lost to the empire. All depended on whether the isolated towns and forts, where the British flag still floated, could hold out against the rebels till help came.

At Lucknow, one of these towns, the British inhabitants crowded into a large palace called the Residency, and held it against thousands of natives. The sun beat pitilessly down on the brave defenders; the path to the only well was open to the enemy's fire; at night there were secret attacks and attempts to blow up the roughly built fortifications with mines.

"We can hold the place for fifteen days," was the despairing message of Sir Henry Lawrence, the general in command.

The fifteen days dragged by, and there was no sign of help. Within the Residency numbers were dead or dying from wounds, sickness, and want of proper food and fresh water. Sir Henry Lawrence himself was shot down, his last words a stirring "Never surrender, I charge you; let every man die at his post!"

The natives began to be confident of success. If they could pull down and trample on the Union Jack, it

would be a sign of hope and victory for all who hated Britain, and they could send the fallen flag as a message of triumph from one part of the country to another.

Still the days passed, and the little garrison held out. At length, one still hot afternoon, a sound was heard in the distance, very faint, but loud enough to fill the hearts of those in the Residency with joy. It was the bagpipes of the Gordon Highlanders: Lucknow was saved! Its plucky defenders had kept the old flag flying, and the British relief columns, weary with their forced marches under the glaring sun, had pressed on with redoubled vigour as they caught sight of the Union Jack still floating above the roofs of Lucknow. The poet Tennyson has described the scene as it appeared to one of the garrison:

All on a sudden the garrison utter a jubilant shout,
Havelock's glorious Highlanders answer with conquering
cheers.

Saved by the valour of Havelock, saved by the blessing of
Heaven!

"Hold it for fifteen days!" We have held it for eighty-seven!
And ever aloft on the palace roof the old banner of
England flew.

"We have kept the flag flying!"—that was the message of Lucknow that thrilled the Empire when months afterwards the newspapers spread the story. "Keep the flag flying!" is the message and warning of the Empire now to all her citizens, in time of peace as well as in war.

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Each of us fought as if hope for the garrison hung but on him.

That was how the flag was kept flying in face of danger and death. Let each of us live as if hope for the Empire hung but on him. That is how we shall keep the Empire flag flying through the ages, proud and free.

Have you thrown a pebble into a pond and watched it strike the water. Exactly where it sinks there ripples a small circle, and round that circle another, and so in ever-widening circles towards the edge of the pond. The influence of a single citizen's life is very like that pebble. It will affect first his home, then the town or village to which that home belongs, and afterwards his country, empire, or even the world itself. If we are quarrelsome, mean, dishonest, or cowardly, we are disliked in our homes, we harm our local and central Government, and when we go abroad we bring discredit on our land. Foreigners will look after us with a contemptuous shrug of their shoulders, and say, "There goes an Englishman!"

If, on the other hand, we are courteous to foreigners, ready and anxious to keep the peace so long as our country's honour is safe, just in questions of law, honest over trade and business, and fearless in time of danger, we shall make the Empire loved and respected all over the world. The Empire is in the hands of each one of us to-day to mar or make.

Questions

I.

1. Trace the change in the use of the word "citizen" from its original to its present meaning.
2. What ought a citizen to do in return for the privileges of his position?
3. Draw a comparison between the relationships of a family and the citizens forming the State. Can you quote Mazzini's words embodying such a comparison?
4. What is *true* patriotism, and what is the relation of patriotism to citizenship?
5. St. Paul was protected by his Roman citizenship. Give any parallel case in British history.

II.

1. Illustrate from school life the necessity for law.
2. "Long ago the King made laws." Why has this method of lawmaking been changed?
3. Give any picture from history showing the evil which follows from weak government.
4. Why do we sacrifice freedom to law? Give your own illustrations of such sacrifice.
5. Give some of the advantages of living in a well-governed country.

III.

1. You enter a town for the first time : what evidences of its good government would be noted as you walked its streets?
2. Imagine yourself a member of your local authority. Write a letter in which you tell all you have done during the week in your official capacity.
3. Why are elections necessary? Describe how an election is carried out.

L

4. Obtain the agenda of the local Council, and copy out six of the items of business. Make comments on one item.

5. "Laws are a matter of concern to every citizen." Name a law which affects :

Babies,
Boys,
Girls,
Boys and girls,
Women,
Men,
and old people.

IV.

1. What is the work of Parliament? How is the House of Commons elected, and who may vote in such election?

2. The life of a Parliament is limited to five years. Consider the effect of this :

- (1) On Parliament.
- (2) On trade.
- (3) On peace of country.

3. "The man who has a vote must neither sell nor neglect it." Discuss this.

4. Name the duties which fall :

- (1) To Parliament.
- (2) To County Council.
- (3) To Local Council.

5. Would it make much difference to a constituency if the man it elected proved to be a good or bad member?

V.

1. "Majorities rule." Explain and illustrate this statement by reference to the way we are governed.

2. What is meant by joining a "party"? What are the advantages of this course? When should a party be abandoned?

3. Explain the use of the terms "Prime Minister" and "Cabinet." Who chooses the Prime Minister, and who the Cabinet? What are the duties of the Cabinet?

4. How is the House of Lords constituted, and in what way do its powers differ from those of the House of Commons?

5. The King has been described as "The Keystone of the Empire." Explain this statement.

6. A proposal is brought before Parliament: what happens before it becomes law?

VI.

1. What are the advantages (a) nationally, (b) socially, (c) to trade, (d) imperially, and (e) internationally, of cheap postage?

2. What is an ambassador? What are his duties, and why are they less difficult than they were a century ago?

3. Give an account of the work done, directed, or controlled from the Home Office.

4. Name the principal Government Offices, and indicate briefly some of their duties.

VII.

1. There are two kinds of law, Common and Statute Law. Indicate the difference between them, and name three offences under each heading.

2. Write short notes on:

A judge.

The Lord-Chancellor.

A magistrate.

Grand Jury.

Jury.

An oath.

Leave to appeal.

3. What precautions are taken by English law to ensure that no innocent man be punished ?
4. Imagine a trial for theft. Briefly report what happens in court.
5. In France an accused person must prove his innocence. What is the attitude of English law to an accused person ?

VIII.

1. "Much ill-health can be prevented by law." Explain and illustrate this statement.
2. "There is hardly any place that a Sanitary Inspector does not visit." Go round with a Sanitary Inspector for a day, and indicate the things he would look out for.
3. How did the villagers of Eyam show their citizenship ?
4. Name any laws you find or are likely to find personally inconvenient. Why is it essential you should obey such laws ?
5. How is the citizen who keeps his windows open and his house and person clean helping his country ?

IX.

1. How does the Government encourage thrift ?
2. In what different ways do the Guardians of the Poor spend money ?
3. Indicate some of the main causes of poverty, and say which you think are avoidable and which unavoidable.
4. Some laws intended to relieve poverty have had the opposite effect. Show how such laws have acted.

X.

1. Illustrate from your own observation and experience the statement "that ignorance is often at the root of both sickness and poverty."
2. Give your reasons for thinking that the Government regard "education" as exceedingly important.

3. By doing things in company with others certain qualities are developed. What are these qualities? Show their importance. Illustrate from the game you like best.

4. A boy spends an hour wandering aimlessly through a museum, and another so that he has "continued his school education." Describe both visits.

5. Some children think the years spent in school a waste of time. State fully what you think on the matter.

XI.

1. Who is the Chancellor of the Exchequer? What preparation must be made before he can read his "Budget" to the House of Commons?

2. Name the sources of the National Income.

3. Under what circumstances may low rates be a "bad thing," and when may high rates be defended?

4. "It doesn't matter to me how heavy the rates are." Show how any one who says this is mistaken.

5. When may taxation be said to be bad, and when good? What is the difference between "direct" and "indirect" taxation?

XII.

1. People obey laws for different reasons. Name and comment on these reasons.

2. "It was by the sword and sacrifice of life that our freedom was won in the past." Contrast this with the way modern reforms have been obtained.

3. We owe much to the past. How can we repay this?

4. "To none will we sell, to none will we deny, to none will we delay right and justice." Show how this declaration lies at the foundation of our national freedom.

5. What do you mean by religious liberty, and why is religious liberty so important?

XIII.

1. What share had Columbus in the building of the British Empire?
2. "The British Empire was built on trade." Explain this, saying something of the character of the pioneers of the movement.
3. Give an account of the career of Captain Cook.
4. What good qualities as colonists were displayed by the Pilgrim Fathers?
5. What do you understand by the Industrial Revolution? and explain how the changes due to it have altered the position of England as a nation.

XIV.

1. Beneath the picture of Lord Durham is a maple leaf. What is the significance of this? What was his famous report, and why famous?
2. What is a Federal Government? Give details of the Government of Canada.
3. How is a Crown Colony ruled?
4. What has been the effect on Native States of establishing British Protectorates there?

XV.

1. How is India governed? Contrast this with the government of Australia.
2. Ought we to hand back the government of India to its own people? Give reasons in answer, for and against.
3. Why is India so important to England; and England so important to India?
4. India is almost a continent in size, and contains many different nations having strong religious differences. How does this make the problem of governing India a very difficult one?
5. What have been the results of British rule in India?

XVI.

1. What is a "necessary and just war" ?
2. What lessons do we learn from the story of Æthelred ?
3. "The fleet of England is her all in all ;
Her fleet is in your hands,
And in her fleet, her fate."

What does this mean ?

4. What are the advantages and disadvantages of our sea-frontier ?

XVII.

1. Why should we not spend all the money we have for defence on the navy ?
2. Write brief notes on :
 - (a) the cavalry,
 - (b) the artillery,
 - (c) the engineers,
 - (d) the infantry.
3. Why are training and discipline so important ?
4. What are the "Territorials" ?

XVIII.

1. What is the value to any of our colonies of its relationship to the Empire ?
2. A boy grows up careless, idle, and ignorant. Trace the influence of his life on the community.
3. "Modern achievements and improvements bridge the gulfs of time and distance." How does this affect the relations of home-country and colonies ?
4. Answer Browning's question put at the fore-front of this book :
"Here and here did England help me : how can I help England ?"
5. On Empire Day many school children salute the flag. What is, or ought to be, the full meaning of this ?

Additional Questions

1. Explain the phrase "England is governed by the people, for the people."

2. Copy out the agenda of the "Public Health Committee" of the local authority.

3. Give a brief summary of the business done at the last meeting of the local authority from the account in the newspaper.

4. What authorities pass laws dealing with :

- (1) Lighting up time for bicycles,
- (2) Closing time for shops,
- (3) Closing time for public-houses,
- (4) Speed of motor-cars,
- (5) Speed for motor cars in certain narrow streets?

Give reasons for the said authority acting rather than another.

5. Name six local officials, and state briefly the duties they perform.

6. "They won't let me smoke my pipe down in the mine, but now and again I have my bit of baccy on the sly." What would you say in reply?

7. Comment on proposals to put a tax on :

- (a) bicycles,
- (b) music-halls,
- (c) cricket-clubs,
- (d) watches,
- (e) bricks,
- (f) cats.

8. How does a policeman serve the community?

